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THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

THE EMPEROR AKBAR,

A CONTRIBUTION

TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF INDIA

IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

BY

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, COUNT OF NOER.

TRANSLATED, AND IN PART REVISED

BY

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

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TO THE MEMORY

OF

FRIEDRICH AUGUST GRAF VON NOER

I DEDICATE MY SHARE IN HIS WORK.

A. S B.

FAMOUS WAR CORRESPONDENTS

"News of battle! News of battle!
Hark! 'tis ringing down the street;
And the archways and the pavement
Bear the clang of hurrying feet.
News of battle! Who has brought it?"

—W. E. AYTOUN,
Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers

PREFACE.

er visiting Fathpúr Síkrí, Ágrah and Sikandrah, and in presentiment of one of those *lacunæ* in Anglo-Indian life when a house is filled by memories only of its children that I resolved to add to *Akbarana* such unscholarly contribution as a woman might who is unversed in Arabic and Persian.

While considering the materials at my command, I became aware of the existence of Graf von Noer's *Kaiser Akbar* and learned the story of the author's pathetic life and death. *Kaiser Akbar* occupied in some measure the niche I had desired to appropriate. Its translation into English appeared therefore my first safe step.

In my ignorance of the process of the making of books, I had imagined translation an easy task. It has, in this instance, proved far otherwise. By reason of the untoward circumstances of *Kaiser Akbar's* publication—its author's failing health, his death in mid-work and its passage for completion into other hands less in touch with its matter—it has been necessary to collate the translation with the sources used by Graf von Noer. This,—though full of the personal compensation of widened acquaintance with interesting books and their authors,—has rendered my work lengthy and laborious. By this means, I have effected such amendment as might have been made in a second edition of the German text, had its author lived to perfect his work. In the majority of instances of amendment, the fact is indicated by a foot-note referring to the authority relied upon.* This

* One place where this has not been done is Vol. I, 344. There 1596 has been changed to 1598 because J. A. S. B. 57, Part 1, p. 33, shows that Akbar practiced sun-worship in 1598. This paper contains an interesting description of Akbar by Father Jerome Xavier. It may here be recorded that the last volume of the Count's book has been translated into French by M. G. Benet Maury (Leyden 1883).

revision has been made by permission of the owner of *Kaiser Akbar*—the widowed Gräfinn von Noer.

The question of the orthography of proper names was one of great initial difficulty. I was not able to adopt the spelling used in the German text because, however correct its transliteration, its appearance is too unfamiliar for Anglo-Indian toleration. After duly considering the diverse methods of Blochmann, Erskine, Elphinstone, Elliot, Dowson, and other historians of the Mughul period, I elected to be guided by Professor Blochmann. This I did, because his writings enable me to present most of the personages and places mentioned in *Kaiser Akbar* in an English form in which they have appeared at least once before. It has not been agreeable, it must be admitted, to substitute *Patnah* for the familiar *Patna*, but it seemed safest to be faithful to our example and not to re-enter the abyss of variation.

The transposition of Indian eras to the Christian has been a task of some difficulty, and I fear, many errors remain. In this, I have been aided by General Cunningham's "Book of Indian Eras" and by the chronological tables in Gladwin's Revenue Accounts. For many verifications of dates by reference to the Persian, I am indebted to my husband.

I have to acknowledge the great courtesy of the Royal Asiatic Society in lending me the valuable M.S. of Chalmers' translation of the Akbarnamah.

To my husband I owe a debt, difficult of acknowledgment from its magnitude, for help the most diverse, for counsel and guidance, and for unwearying readiness to place his knowledge of the Persian authorities at my service.

Accuracy appears to be in literature an ideal of rare attainment. Probably no writer has seen his work issue from the press without desiring to hasten the day for revising his second edition.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

ILFRACOMBE,
May 15th, 1890.

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LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FRIEDRICH AUGUST, PRINCE OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN-SONDERBURG-AUGUSTENBURG. (GRAF VON NOER).*

1. *Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens.* (Things New and Old from Eastern Lands.) Hamburg. W. Mauke Söhne. Second Edition, 1870.
2. *Kaiser Akbar, ein Versuch über die Geschichte Indiens im sechzehnten Jahrhundert.* (The Emperor Akbar, an Essay towards the history of India in the 16th Century.) Leiden. E. J. Brill, 1880.
3. *Briefe und Auzeichnungen aus seinem Nachlass, herausgegeben von Carmen, Gräfin von Noer.* (Letters and Extracts from papers left by the Count von Noer. Edited by Carmen, Countess of Noer. Nördlingen. Verlag der C. H. Beck'schen Buchhandlung. 1886.

IT is pleasant to be reminded that there yet shines a star over India which has power to witch men from distant homes, to tread her shores and the misty mazes of her story. One man so fascinated was he who is the subject of this notice and to him India was the dream of boyhood and the goal of his dominant enthusiasm. Born to a high place in the world's ranks, a prince and potential sovereign, he gently shook off the fetters which politics and pleasure might have rivetted on him, even in exile, and yielded his obedience to the more puissant attractions of a personal ideal—the East. A vague word and so too for many years was the direction of the cult, but the devotee's worship eventually took form and set into definite acts. The first of these was the book entitled "*Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens,*" and the second was a life of the Emperor Akbar.

Friedrich Christian Charles August, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg—to give him the full title which distinguishes his from other houses of the Duchies—was born on November 16th, 1830, at Schleswig of which fort his father, Prince Friedrich Emile August was

* Reprinted by the courteous permission of the Proprietor, from the *Calcutta Review*, July 1887.

commandant. The first eighteen years of his life were passed between the town of his birth and Noer, his paternal estate. Prince Emile was a soldier through and through and regarded his profession as the only one possible to a man of rank. He was not readily accessible to novel ideas and never, even remotely, anticipated the possibility of his son's taking a new path and deserting his natural calling of arms. Prince Friedrich was, however, heir of other elements than those which constituted his father's rugged and martial character; he had part in his mother's gentler and more chastened spirit.

This lady, Countess Henriette von Daneskiold-Samsœe, was one of those women without fame who are amongst the potent factors of human history by reason of their power to guide. She was the object of her children's reverential affection and it may be said of her with truth, that her effluence was tenderness. Years after she has gone to her rest, a stranger finds the perfume of her character clinging round the home of her early married life, in traditions of her gracious presence and benign thoughtfulness. It was she who fostered, by sharing, her son's bias to books and she supported him too in his at times, self-willed divergence from his father's plans. She was an invalid during most of her life and there is ample suggestion in the volume from which most of the material for this sketch of her son's life is gathered (*Letters and Extracts*) that the young prince, together with her happy gifts of mind and temper, inherited from her also that delicacy of constitution which alloyed his life. It was partly in consequence of this delicacy and partly a result of his father's predilection for a manly military training that the boy's education was desultory and insufficient. It was not, he says, till 1848 that he had a tutor who gave him any conception of what to learn meant. With this teacher, a gentleman named Knuth, he was in that year in his usual summer home of Noer and reading Greek and Latin with seeming profit when his studies were rudely interrupted by the outbreak of the rebellion in the Duchies.

Noer is a long stretch of wood, arable and pasture land which lies some fourteen miles west of Kiel, along Eckernfjörde, an inlet of the Baltic. In itself, it is better fitted to be the brooding place of fancy than the school of arms, for tranquillity rests upon it, at least in stormless summer, with folded wings. Whether one looks across its fiord to the

gently rising hills, or strolls in its cloistered woods, or watches the meditations of its mighty herds, one breathes only air of prevailing peace. Its beeches climb down to meet the sea; their mossy fringe of turf touches the weedy hem of the translucent waters; inland, pines open gloomy depths to show fit scenes for fairy folk and at twilight one chances on browzing deer or thrills to their swift scud across the glades. The young heir of all these delights appreciated them and seems to have passed the greater part of eighteen years contentedly amongst them. In 1848, a year momentous in history and full of special and evil consequence to his family, the beloved home at Noer was broken up never to be restored. Prince Emile thought himself called by duty to head the revolted army of the Duchies and his son was enrolled under him. A soldier's life was not to the boy's taste, but he did his best by energetic drill to qualify himself to play a worthy part in the contest. Besides his aversion for war, another sentiment contributed to make the present struggle distasteful,—distress at the rupture of the ties which bound his family to his Danish kinsfolk. Of this feeling, the following passage from his autobiography is proof: "I tried to do my duty as a German but it was not "always easy. My mother was born a Daneskiold and how "many dear friends and kinsmen had we not in Denmark. "Besides I was seventeen, and up to that time a stranger to "politics." It is not our place to follow the course of the war further than as it affected our young soldier. His letters to his mother who, fearing to be taken as a hostage, had gone to Rendsburg and later, for greater security, to Hamburg, are graphic and lively, making the best of considerable discomforts and detailing his adventures. He always had pleasant comrades, a significant fact which casts a becoming light back on himself. One night he is in a "musty den," which reminds him of scenes in "our dear Walter Scott," and on another occasion he begs for books, "Kühner's Greek Grammar and anything nice and profitable," to supplement his available mental pabulum, the Bible and a Life of Alexander. The war dragged on, chiefly in inaction for the younger prince and this inaction, combined with irritation at the delay of Prussian reinforcements, so fretted him that he at length wrote to his father (who had already quitted the field) saying that the sooner he also took leave the better if the national rising was to be a mere demonstration, and that the affair disgusted him even more than it

had done at first. So that he had not, in his ensuing exile, the comfort of suffering for an offence which he had been happy in committing! The above letter was written in July; in the following October, we find him in London and on the eve of a voyage to Australia, undertaken for the restoration of his health which had been somewhat severely compromised by the exposures of the campaign.

When the plan of a voyage was mooted, Prince Friedrich who even as a child filled his fancy with marvellous notions about the East, had ardently desired to be sent to India but the gratification of his wish was forbidden by climatic considerations. On November 3rd, 1849, he sailed from Plymouth in the *Alfred* and under charge of its commander, Captain Carr. His letters home are bright, boyish and full of interest in the novelties of his life: they tell at length of inland expeditions in Australia; of the hospitality of his colonial hosts and of the fun he derived from his shifting circumstances—one day parading Melbourne under the wing of honest Captain Carr and another receiving, as an "illustrious personage," a salute of 21 guns. His return voyage brought him to the very gates of his imaged paradise, for he set foot in Ceylon and Madras and stayed some three weeks in Calcutta. He had cherished the plan of a sight of the Himálayas and of Kashmír but fever restricted his excursions to the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

In October, he reluctantly quitted Bengal and voyaged to Egypt whence, with a mind satiate with wonders, he crossed to Smyrna. The singular beauty of this city impressed him greatly and one of his best passages is devoted to the celebration of its charms. The inroad of martial duty on study in 1848, had not destroyed his book-mindedness and he enjoyed now the subtle pleasure of congruity, by reading the right books in the right spot, and took Herodotus and Homer in hand. In January 1851, he is in Constantinople and lamenting to his father his coming departure for Europe. Naturally he does not reckon the City of the Golden Horn as amongst things European and delayed there until peremptory injunctions to return to Germany reached him. One feature of his letters is especially clear now and henceforth —definiteness of opinion in all matters affecting himself. Hitherto he had travelled alone, except for the attendance of a trusted servant from Noer, and he now, with incisive brevity, replies to the suggestion of a travelling companion

by saying, that such a person is the greatest possible hindrance. Not that he is misanthropic; he likes some people even as travelling companions but he would not endure the *gêne* of one chosen and settled beforehand. In Constantinople, he selected a friend who was to exercise strong directing influence on his thought and studies for several years to come. To many readers his admiration for David Urquhart will appear as strange as it did to his later friend, Dr. Samuel Birch and to Prince Emile. It was, however, a fact of magnitude in his career and the cause of constant discussion between him and his father.*

Urquhart's influence soon made itself felt by the impressionable young orientalist. Prince Friedrich became one of his most ardent disciples and wrote concerning him to Prince Emile in a style of admiration which was certainly calculated to awaken apprehension. It was inevitable that a parent so practical and positive should regret his son's submission to influence which could inspire the following rapturous effusion :—"Urquhart is a man without a second. "He acts on me like a magnet on steel; some unknown "magic has drawn and fettered me to him. He has taught "me, for the first time, to know myself; before his eye all "the secrets of the soul disclose themselves; the heights "and depths of human history are clear to him." Persons who are free from any responsibility as to the upbringing of the writer of this *pœan* may admit the charm of the hero-worship it confesses, for every heart warms to the uprising of an awakening soul. Every one too who would have his children go far on the path of higher experience, would willingly see them surrender themselves for a time to the attraction of a man who had, at least, the appearance of high doing, high thinking and espousal of the right. It is however certain that the plain-thinking soldier-prince would have

* The prince's autobiography contains a note on Urquhart's life from which the following facts are drawn:—He was born in 1805, of an old Cromarty family and, as a child, saw much of the continent in his mother's company. He went to Oxford and there devoted himself somewhat to mineralogy, more to political economy and most to oriental languages and history. In 1817, he accompanied Lord Cochrane to Greece and a few years later, entered upon a diplomatic career as secretary to the Embassy in Constantinople. In the political questions of the time he warmly espoused the cause of Turkey and by this and his expressed hatred of Russia, set himself in opposition to Lord Palmerston and rendered his position at the Embassy untenable. He therefore returned to England and entered Parliament. Amongst his writings, the "Spirit of the East" is indisputably pre-eminent. The latter years of his life were passed in complete retirement.

none of these sympathetic sentiments and he probably expressed, brusquely and irreconcilably, his dissatisfaction at an intimacy with the perfervid Scot to whom he, with justice, attributed what he deplored—his son's almost exclusive occupation with matters extra-European. Prince Friedrich was throughout life noticeable for the constancy and warmth of his likings and it was natural that he should stand by the man of his choice. It was none the less natural to his candour and rectitude that he should give his father his due, in an exposition of his reasons for thwarting wishes he felt bound to consider though not always to obey. Prince Emile was so far from re-assured by his son's arguments that he enjoined an immediate departure from Constantinople where the young prince had tarried some three months.

Two years had passed since sentence of banishment had driven Prince Emile from Noer and he was now residing for a time at Gräfenberg. Here his son joined him. The first flush of reunion was a season of delight and happy exchange of experiences but the stagnant existence of the little watering place soon became irksome to the youth who, like Ulysses, "could not rest from travel" and was "yearning in desire to follow knowledge." He therefore welcomed a proposal from his father to accompany him to London and to visit the Great Exhibition of 1851. Not, as the young prince remarks with characteristic loftiness of sentiment, that he cared for the Exhibition. For what so high-strung soul forsooth, could an exhibition have attractions? But the journey was an outlet from Gräfenberg and might issue in action more consonant than sight-seeing. One cannot help hoping that Prince Emile found at the World's Fair some more congenial fellow *flâneur* than his ambitious boy who could hardly at this time have been a complaisant comrade for idle days. As he himself said, he was a somewhat spoiled child and he moreover meant to go far in life and so was overweighted by the *impedimenta* of his long march, in shape of stores of high views and aspirations, as well as some stock of such happily friable commodities as priggishness and stiffness of opinion. In these respects he was like other young men of good calibre and must sometimes have inconvenienced those who had to march with him.

Prince Friedrich's sentiments towards London had begun in the most wholesome possible way, with a little aversion. In 1849, he had been repelled by her fogs and by various

English ways which did not chime in with his tastes. Now, in 1851, London seemed different and he perceived that he had overcome many prejudices in the colonies and that, without his knowledge, foreign lands had matured him. This, he says, "was a pleasant sensation; I began to feel "at home in England, and silently resolved to return there "for a longer stay." Visits to London were a frequently recurring incident of his future life and England became a second home for which he cherished ever increasing affection. Such friendship for one's own country, evinced by a foreigner, is always a most grateful compliment. Englishmen returned it to the prince in liking and hearty welcome. His English friends were always amongst his nearest and it was an English lady who stood sponsor to his first child. On completion of this, his second visit, the father and son returned to Gräfenberg whence they were soon driven by the necessity of seeking in Berlin medical advice for Princess Henriette who was constantly suffering but ever the "benediction" and "sunlight" of her circle. In December, all were in Altona where the young Princess Luise was confirmed. "A sad Christmas: so near our home, and exiles!"

A stimulant so powerful as two years of travel and the kindling intimacy of Urquhart, could not but bear fruit and one of its first results was a resolve in the young prince to fill up the *lacunae* of his education. His mental habit seems to have been to make up his mind silently as to what he wanted and then to obtain his parents' sanction, willing or unwilling—in brief, he was accustomed to have his own way. His father clearly regarded him as a remarkable person and one whose vagaries were not to be comprehended but, as a general rule, he ratified their action. At the present crisis of Prince Friedrich's intellectual hunger, he decided that he could best satisfy it at Cambridge and accordingly entered as a fellow-commoner of Trinity, in February 1852. He commenced his studies with an ardour which prepares one for finding that he did not care for the mass of undergraduates who, so far as he saw, did nothing but row and box. His exceptional experience of life would, in itself, put him out of tune with that careless and pleasure-loving crew but he soon accustomed himself to all he had at first disliked, even to the "schoolboy discipline," and to dining with 500 persons and moreover, he found friends after his own heart and pattern. His vacations were spent partly at work in

Cambridge and partly in happy recreation with his parents and sister at Combe House, in Devonshire.*

Not the flow of time and not changed scenes and relations could blunt the vital point of the Prince's enthusiasm. His orientalism persisted; so too his friendship for Urquhart; and no less his father's outspoken annoyance at both. The following letter illustrates his mode of looking at his own conduct and also of setting it forth to his censor.

Trinity College, August 2nd, 1852. "I have not had leisure "to reply sooner to your affectionate and valued letter of "the 26th ultimo. You will, I am sure, excuse the omission "of which I have been guilty although I had the best "intentions of writing. Be assured that the delay was not "caused by irritation at the contents of your letter; on the "contrary, your solicitous expression of opinion is so far "grateful to me that it possibly gives me, after faithful "and full self-examination, the opportunity of removing "your apprehensions."

"Dear father! you are distressed by the liveliness of my "imagination, by my enthusiasm for things eastern, by my "fancied contempt for Europe and perhaps above all, by my "friendship and reverence for Urquhart who is now pointed "at as the contemner of Europe, the fanatical worshipper of "the East and the friend of Paganism. If all you think "were true, you would certainly be justified in taking me "for an unreflecting visionary and I should deserve your re-"proaches. Forgive me however, if I venture to assert that "it is not so. How can you believe it true? Would it be "possible for me to despise the superiority of European "countries; with their daily fruit of novelties in which "improvement and invention contend; where armies will "soon move with the speed of their balls; where thought "and word are sped to distant lands in minutes or seconds; "and where the dark secrets of nature are sought out by the "light of science."

"Most assuredly I am European in sympathies and intend "to remain so, otherwise I should not toil after European "learning. Of what avail would it be to me, if not to use "in and for Europe? And do you think it a disadvan-"tage that I have enjoyed in living vision what I now learn "by printed rule?"

* The "Remains" locate Combe House in Devonshire, but it is possible that the house meant is the one well known and nearer town.

" ' If we are Christians,' you say and seem to imply that to " Orientals, as such, every moral worth is wanting and that " it is desecration for Christians to occupy themselves with " the life, learning and science of Orientals. Dear father! " it is my experience that the reading of the Scriptures has " become an immeasurably higher happiness since I have " been in the East. It was only when I came to know the " eastern idiom and conditions of living that I was in a " position to understand biblical images and descriptions— " the parables—the life of early men—the relations of our " Lord to His disciples—vividly and accurately. The pro- " found simplicity of the biblical language has since then " moved me more. I am convinced that even the most " material of the rationalists who assert that biblical al- " legory veils purely human relations—that even such a one " would learn from eastern travel how admirably true, to the " smallest details, the Bible is in its allegorical language and " how mighty and moving in its simplicity. Do not think " that Buddha or Brahma or Muhammad draws me to the " East and I beg you to trust a little to the experience and " insight of your son."

" As for my relations with Urquhart, I am grieved that " you should under-estimate him and write of him as you do. " My relations with him and my opinion of him are too well " known to you for more words to be necessary. Let it " suffice when I say that from the first he has been my well- " doer and my fatherly friend. He is the only one of my " so-called friends whom time and circumstances have not " changed. This has made me, and I am sure rightly, hon- " our his heart no less than I respect his intellect and this, " in spite of his occasional remarkable or hasty utter- " ances. I am specially surprised to find you quoting the " *Times*."

" I hope, dear father! that you will now think me less of a " dreamer possessed by eccentric imaginations. If my words " lighten your anxieties and facilitate harmony of opinion, " I shall be happy but if they do not, I know no better counsel " than for each of us to keep to his own opinion. If you find " passages in this letter which displease you, I beg you not " to think me presumptuous but to forgive me, for I have " written out what was in my heart. Be assured that, not- " withstanding the widest differences in details of opinion

"I shall always conform most willingly to your wishes and "your will."

The final sentence of his letter notwithstanding, Prince Friedrich not only kept his opinions but acted upon them in opposition to those of his father, for he spent the rest of the year in frequent intercourse with Urquhart and some portion of it as his guest in London. In order to conclude here the topic of his relations with this man of whom it may truly be said that his powers of fascination were remarkable, we quote the following passage from a letter written in 1856, by the Prince to Dr. Samuel Birch. After mentioning that he has read, for he knows not what time, Urquhart's "Spirit of the East," he goes on to say that it is impossible to peruse this *chef d'œuvre* without the deepest regret for the failings of a man of indisputably lofty genius. "You," he says to Birch, "knew him only in his later period and saw only the acces- "ses of passion of a disabused and embittered mind and the "strength of an unbridled temper. I however—and you "will forgive me my lingering affection—saw him otherwise. "I saw him in the early days of his success when his magic "influence worked on all with perfect and irresistible charm. "Let me remember this, if only with sorrow and regret! "Without sentimentality, I may say of him and the time, "*Fortasse et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.* It would ill beseem "me to deny due meed of gratitude to the man who disclosed "to me the wonders of the East."

The Prince's stay at Cambridge did not exceed 18 months and at its expiration he moved with his family to Paris. He commemorates their departure as having been made the more agreeable by a cabman's strike and the necessity of making their exodus in the cart of an obliging fishmonger. Mr. Disraeli gave him on this occasion an introduction to Count de Persigny. There would seem to have been a lasting mutual liking between Prince Friedrich and Mr. Disraeli for in 1879, we find the former writing to his wife from London that he had paid a visit to Sidonia and had been received with open arms. "He was magnificent during a half hour "devoted mostly to remembrances of old times: he was like a "young man in flash of mind, brilliancy and sparkle. I "seemed to hear a chapter of Vivian Grey. The dear man! "he is still among one's old friends."

The wanderers passed from Paris to Heidelberg and her

the brother and sister took up various studies together. They were initiated in Egyptology by Julius Braun, listened to lectures on the fine arts and, actively and quiescently, divided the musical training of an old lady, in whose society the Prince says that they spent many friendly hours. These tranquil pursuits were interrupted by the Crimean war. The Prince makes little mention of politics but so much appears, that his father was always on the alert, in times of European complications, for some happy chance to mend his own fortunes. At the present juncture, Prince Fredrich went at once to Mainz and Paris and met the Emperor—facts suggestive of a tide of hopes and fears in his circle. In Paris at this time, he formed one of a charmed circle of art and literature and rejoiced in his existence among associates of mark. At this time also, he had matured a definite project of work, namely, the turning of his experiences and observations as a traveller into a literary form. The outcome of this plan was "*Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens.*" (*Things new and old from Eastern lands*) ;—a book published under the pseudonym of *Onomander*, because, to use the courtly phrase of M. Alfred de Maury, the Prince feared to compromise a name which had not awaited the issue of a book to become illustrious.*

In the November of 1854, Prince Emile took his family to Paris, with the intention of making this his permanent residence. The younger Prince settled down to steady work but gave the world her due share of his attention and particularly enjoyed the society which gathered round Lady Holland and Prince Napoleon. He had for a brief space most of the elements of happiness at his service : people he loved in his home, people of distinction of all kinds as associates in society and congenial occupation, to which novelty added if also the anxieties, the charm of experiment. Brevity however, was the mark of all the arrangements of the exiled family and in most instances of change, a brevity rendered imperative by ill-health. It was now not only for Princess Henriette that a southern winter was ordered but also for her daughter Luise ; Pau was selected for their winter residence and the Prince was left alone with his books on a fourth story of Rue Luxembourg. Here he worked hard through the winter, varying his literary occupations by an

* Introductory notice by M. A. de Maury, Membre de l'Institut, to the French translation of Kaiser Akbar, by M. G. Bonet Maury.

occasional flight into the gayest scenes of the gayest days of Eugénie's Paris.

In April, he was again interrupted and called to Pau by his mother's dangerous illness. Certainly when one sees, as one does in following the history of the Noer family only in this one generation, how much of sorrow and stultification is brought about by the incursions of sickness, one has rebellious stirrings in favour of greater robustness if less civilization and of a legacy from the ages of healthy stupidity, rather than that of which we are heirs and which includes the seeds of so much wasted existence. Hardly had the young *littérateur* been set at ease by the almost miraculous recovery of his mother than he himself became the victim of over-strain and anxiety. London was then and often after his *sanatorium* and of it he says that it never refused him its healing influence. Nor did it now; but even in the society of genial friends, he was filled with sad presentiment, like the chill of approaching fate; possibly a premonition of the heart affection which caused his death. Prince Emile would seem to have wished his son's present visit to London to serve a political end, in so far as this could be done by making himself known at Court. To this the son acceded, saying that it seemed right because if all the family hawsers broke, there would still be a last grapnel and harbour in "dear old England." Accordingly he frequented *levées* and drawing-rooms and was received with great kindness by the Queen at Buckingham Palace where he paid a visit of some duration. Notwithstanding that he accomplished his father's wishes and was happy in the pleasant reception accorded to him, he was, by the beginning of July, confirmed in his previous opinion that *magna societas est magna solitudo* and wearied of the fashionable whirligig. He therefore asked his father's forgiveness for retiring to his work, saying that the portion of *Altes und Neues* which had appeared, had excited more attention than he had dared to hope and that he thought it would be unwise in him to quit the path he had chosen and which harmonized so well with his tastes and habits.

In the autumn of 1857, Prince Friedrich joined his family in Paris at his father's house in Rue Balzac. This and the following were years of great domestic trouble, for not only did he himself suffer from several serious attacks of illness but he experienced the deepest grief of his life, in the loss of his mother. This gentle lady had in her the heart of

a hero for she had opposed to fortune throughout life the buckler of a cheerful spirit and now, at her supreme hour, looked the foe in the face with quiet courage. She knew that she must go but she neither shirked the truth nor trembled. Having commended her daughter to her son's care and having bravely borne many hours of pain, she passed away calmly on September 10th, 1858. Fate had now no harder blow to deal out to the exiles; they had lost their centre and comforter, the guide and counsellor who had heartened all who came within her circle.

Of the years which follow this crowning grief, Prince Fredrich says that he can give no correct account. Travel in Italy filled a short space, residence in London and the study of Sanskrit with Professor Goldstücker another interval but gloom and annoyance would seem to have hung over all. "The death of my mother had rent the family tie which had "once linked us so closely together. In everything it was "perceptible that we had lost our guardian spirit." Vexation and chagrin culminated in 1864 when Prince Emile not only entered upon political action of which his son disapproved but, at the age of 64, announced his intention of taking to himself a bride of 25. It was inevitable that the son of a mother so beloved as had been the Princess Henriette, should resent such a marriage and not unnatural that its announcement should decide him to put half the world between himself and its perpetrators. The lady of his father's choice was a Miss Marie Esther Lee about whom the Almanach de Gotha gives the further information that she was the daughter of David Lee, gentleman, of New York and that on the death of Prince Emile, she married a Prussian Quartermaster General, Count von Waldersee.

Hurrying his departure so as to anticipate the marriage ceremony, Prince Friedrich left Dover in an English man-of-war, the *Orontes*, on October 27th, 1864. He set forth sick at heart but resolute to blot from memory his load of griefs and chagrins. Only brief allusion is made in the biography to what must have been a fertile source of annoyance. During the years of exile, the absence, neglect and costliness of a wandering life were casting a rising pile of debt on Noer. This fact and its contingent details must have annoyed and must have continually obtruded. Prince Friedrich, being more susceptible than the majority of men, felt as a wound many a touch of sorrow or chagrin which would have lain

light and unnoticed on the feelings of a robuster man. Certainly most men would, even in exile, have used his chances in the two capitals of western Europe to dull regret in pleasure and in the search for that advancement which not rarely waits on clever, attractive and high-born youth. Very certainly many a man would have viewed his father's remarriage to a bride 39 years his junior, with more cynicism than surprise and chiefly as it might affect the future of the rent-roll. With tougher armour, Prince Friedrich would have felt less regret but so, too, would those friends who mourn his death.

To return to his voyage. The long Cape route was happily traversed and it is a proof of the winning manners of the lonely traveller that, on his quitting the ship, the crew asked permission to give him a farewell cheer, not only in order to show respect to his rank but also in sign of personal esteem and liking. "The yards were manned, the word "given and a hurrah rose such that everything trembled "and my heart not least. I was touched and rejoiced by "this cordial greeting from British sailors."

The early part of 1865 was spent by Prince Friedrich in Southern India, partly because Mr. James Fergusson (the archæologist and a personal friend) had advised him that this was the region in which best to study classic Hinduism; partly in pursuance of a scheme of working northwards and obtaining some general acquaintance with the whole peninsula.

The Prince's biography of this period contains several letters of interest, written for the most part to Goldstücker. The first is from Colombo and gives an account of a visit to a temple at three miles distance from the town, during the course of which Sanskrit *slokas* were read and high matters of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism discussed. The months intervening between the Prince's arrival in Ceylon in December 1864 and the date, April 1865, at which he took refuge, a "demi-Lazarus" in Utacamand were filled to overflowing with novel experience. Sparing our readers the full mention of places visited, his doings may be briefly summarized: he made many expeditions for sport, searched libraries, saw temples, palaces and shrines, had an unfair amount of illness, took everything with an even mind and when possible, with the keen enjoyment of the man who

"cannot rest from travel." Amongst other incidents of interest is that of his searching at Trichinopoly for Heber's tomb and laying upon it a tribute of flowers. Another and one which must have seemed like a home greeting, is that, in Tranquebar, he met a native gentleman who spoke Danish and had in his house portraits of the Schleswig-Holstein family. From his leisurely retreat in Ooty, he wrote letters to Goldstücker and Fergusson from which the following quotations are made, in order to show the strength of India's possession of him and his own enthusiasm for her.

Writing to Goldstücker at the end of May 1865 he says, "You know the general aim of my journey as well or bet-"ter than I. It is so wide and comprehensive that I am "frightened when I contemplate it and instead of calcu-"lating the means at my disposal, I think only of what "I lack for the possibility of success—health, knowledge, "money, and many another requisite of which I am not "yet conscious. I want to acquire a thorough know-"ledge of India and naturally of the more civilized lands "of the north in particular. I want to study nature and "men, science and art through the millenium of their "development, with the inner grasp which only living sight "can give. My mind dilates, and my fancy warms to this "mighty purpose and, here is the *crux*, I have not the small-"est notion how or to what end I shall use it all. I have "begun my journey like a man pursued by fate, almost "without will, aimless and yet moved by an invincible power, "a spiritual force which admits no reason or opposition and "which urges me onwards without my knowing whither or "wherefore! Will you counsel me? Will time give counsel? "Or was my father right?"

Writing to Fergusson on 19th June 1865, he says, "India "is, above all other lands, the land of abstract contemplation "or as practical utilitarians say, of dreamy do-nothingness. "Be this as it may, I feel myself the better after a solitary "facing of things. This helps wonderfully if not to under-"stand, yet to feel that mysterious local influence which "seems to me to contribute to right perception and insight "better than the restless, ant-like, erudite curiosity in which "the dominant idea—round which all else should centre—is "lost in the confused and confusing mass of details. The "East naturally predisposes to quiet contemplation and I "am coming to understand why it is that its people have "always been indifferent or bad chronologists and moreover,

"I readily forgive them the doubt and uncertainty into "which they cast an inquiring mind. Jacquémont says, "'Il faudrait écrire l'histoire des Indes en grands traits,' "and in this he is certainly right, just as you were right in "urging me to hold fast to great periods and not to be led "away to pursue details. . . . . As for my- "self, I should not like to learn simply in order to know but "should like to utilize my knowledge for something which "possesses a higher independence in itself. Here (I think "to myself) perhaps the work of the student touches that of "the artist."

During his wanderings, the sense of ignorance and of undirected zeal grew strong in the Prince's mind. He wished for a companion who could be to him, like Sir William Jones, a complete lexicon and he perceived that to effect anything he must concentrate attention and study. Of the usefulness of this last necessity he might have seen proof, had he needed conviction, in a fact of which he makes jocular complaint, namely, that the officials, though speaking Tamil and Telugu as well as they did English, knew no more than the old walls of the ruins themselves of the great and splendid India of ancient days. Pour *belle cause!* They concentrated their attention. Spite of many drawbacks to enjoyment and spite of his bewilderment as to future work, the Prince is still the thrall of India's fascinations and feels no regret at having taken up, at her bidding, the pilgrim's staff. "Every thing "in her," he writes to Goldstücker, "is gigantic and raises the "spirit above pettiness. In extent, form, natural objects "and ancient monuments, she is unique. Her indwelling "poetry must stir the pulse of all who have not fishes' blood. "If, as you have more than once told me and as I am dis- "posed to believe, I am deficient in discrimination, there "never, thank God, fails me the inner joy which prompts to "action, braces to endurance and even through heavy trials, "preserves that cheer of mind without which the miserable "every-day life of this old ragshop, this place of pangs and "torture, could not be endured."

Vicissitudes and disappointments had taught the Prince to shrink from forming plans of action and his present experience bore out his reluctance. Following on news received in Utacamand that his sister was betrothed to Prince Handjerie there came, on July 29th, telegraphic information that his father was dead and that his sister wished him to return to her. He took the first ship available from Madras and

reached Marseilles, after an absence of little more than eleven months, on September 14th. He arrived at a time when a lengthened quarantine was in force, on account of cholera. On the second day when a strong mistral had cut off communication with the shore, he was watching the waves which the storm was lashing to foam, and observed a small boat fighting its way through the rough waters. With great difficulty it made the ship and to the surprise of all, was seen to carry two women. When, with much trouble, they had been embarked, he discovered that one was his sister and the other her faithful companion, Madame Delalande, a lady of over 60 years of age. They had travelled from Havre to Marseilles and tempted the stormy sea to greet him before he could set foot on shore. Ten years later the Prince shewed his gratitude for this manifestation of disinterested affection by saying that no event of his life had caused him such deep emotion.

During the months immediately following his return, Prince Friedrich was occupied by family matters. On his way north, he made acquaintance with his sister's betrothed, Prince Handjerie in Geneva, and was on September 26th in London, arranging for her coming marriage. The ceremony was performed a month later and after continuing his stay another month, the Prince set out on November 30th for Noer where his presence was necessitated by matters in connection with his succession. That he was free to return after an absence of 17 years to Noer, is probably due to the fact that the Duchies had passed under Prussian government, for Denmark remained closed to him for some years to come. Return to Noer could not but be fraught with pain and, to the unavoidable depression, the further element was added of an arrival at four on a winter's morning. "It was," says the Prince, "one of those moments, some at least of which "fall to every mortal lot and in which one is crushed by the "sense of the utter tragedy of human life. Here now were "roar of sea and storm, bare ghostly trees, wan wide fields, "a few servants lighting the threshold and I alone—the "only man of my house!" In March of the following year, he peformed a last duty to his parents and laid their bodies in their final resting place. His father had died at Beyrut, his mother in Paris: now both lay under the northern sky of their early wedded home. To this duty there was added another—the redemption of Noer from debt. Presumably because he could not afford to live

on his estate, he left it, in April 1866, for London where he resumed his former literary life and took up again the study of Sanscrit which he had begun with Professor Goldstücker in 1860. He was however restless and had lost balance; at intervals a renewal of his broken travels tempted him but resolve was delayed, in part by anxiety as to Princess Handjerie's health and in part, by the indifference of depression of spirit. His friends and even his sister urged a third journey upon him for they saw that he was wearing out in restlessness and vague longing. Before coming to a decision, the Prince made a series of visits in Europe, assured himself of his sister's happiness by a visit to Manerbe, her Norman home; saw Guizot in his Tusculum and stayed in Leyden, Amsterdam and the Hague. He then returned to London and as next of kin, assisted as best man at the wedding of Prince Christian.

Full of sorrow as his cup had been, it had not yet overflowed for his sister still lived. In September, she too was taken from him and he was left to the bitter freedom of loneliness. On his way to London from Manerbe where he had witnessed her death, he went to his father's house in Rue Balzac. "In the little dining-room, there still stood the "table with its six chairs, just as of old, but I was the sole "survivor of the six who once formed a genial circle round "it."

Lonely as was Prince Friedrich by the loss of his nearest kin, there remained one person who had ever shown and who continued to show, affectionate interest in his career. This was his father's sister, Caroline Amélie, the Queen-dowager of Denmark. She now remonstrated with him on his intention of further self-exile from Europe. She could not understand his reasons for going to a foreign country, instead of settling down on his estate. He replied, by saying that marriage and prosperous landlordism were put out of his reach by poverty and that he was at once indisposed and too young to live at Noer only to economise. He therefore would live a simple gentleman till his affairs had somewhat improved. An additional reason for foreign residence was found in his desire to learn, if not to forget yet to bear his losses, and he truly says that for such misfortunes as his, there is but the one cure of occupation.

Prince Friedrich's third and last term of residence in India extended from June 1867 to April 1869. On landing at

Madras he went at once to Utakamand, there to await a safer season for travelling. Here he remained until July 31st, when he set out on a fortnight's experimental excursion which he followed up in October by a longer tour in the Mysore country. The following letter to Mr. James Fergusson gives a lively account of both exploits:—

"Ballári, January 7th, 1868. You wish for news of me. "Here it is in the condensed form of a *tartine de voyage*—not "quite à la Jacquemont but, *faute de mieux*, the best bread "and butter story I can offer you. I have scarcely recovered "from an attack of dysentery which almost made an end of "me. But I will tell my tale briefly and clearly, in the style "you like."

"After a successful voyage, I went, in the beginning of "June to my accustomed asylum in the Nilgirís, to recruit "and to prepare for an expedition northwards. This ex- "pedition I determined to initate by a small experiment. "Having insufficiently fitted myself out, I spent from July "31st to August 13th, in pursuit (as you used to say) of cats "and other harmless animals on the southern and eastern "foot of the Nilgirís, going by Mettupalayam, Bawarí, Has- "sanúr and back to 'Ooty' by Nágor, Gundlupet, Bándapúr "and the Kalkatti Ghats. It was a most difficult under- "taking, mostly through thick jungle, on bad roads, up hill "and down. As a consequence, we had to endure many "complications. Amongst others, I almost lost Hyder (his "pony) in the Bhavani and various upsettings and break- "downs necessitated a night picnic. Finally, we all had "fever. On August 13th, we came back to our green nest "and the sum total seems delightful.

"When thoroughly rested and when we had replaced or "repaired the numerous losses and breakages of our equi- "page, we started off in October into the Mysore district "where I rambled about for three months, hunting and "archæologizing. As the first of these occupations has no "interest for you, I spare you my adventures and in the "second, you are so much wiser and better instructed than "I, that I hardly know what to tell you. I will briefly "enumerate the places I visited. From the town of Mysore, "I went to Seringapatam, saw everything of interest and "then plunged into the Bálirangan hills. On emerging, I "visited Yelandur and made an interesting excursion to "Talkad, Sivasamudram and the falls of the Kaveri; then

" to Nursipúr where I camped for a week close to the river, " in the shade of a splendid tope of mango and pipal trees and " in sight of four curious old pagodas and the picturesque " chain of the Balirangan hills. You can imagine how I " plunged into Buddhist dreams. It was truly *nirvana* to sit " alone in this place, charmed by the lulling tone of the " *hookah* and letting pictures from the past glide before my " mind. Do you remember our stolen smokes in the for- " bidden precincts of Wadham? I cannot but think of " them and with this addition, 'Happy is he who, in repose " and tranquillity and far from the machine of busy money- " hatching Europe, can rest on the banks of a great Indian " stream as I do and sink undisturbed into his own thoughts.'

" After this disgression, your appreciative friendliness will " let me omit further details of my journey. A long and " troublesome march lies behind me—Sri Belgola, Halebid, " Bailur, Chitaldrúg. It was on this journey that I fell ill " under the most adverse circumstances. The attack was so " violent that I have not yet recovered but I am slowly " mending and although my enthusiasm has cooled a little, " I may hope to take up my staff again as soon as I have " gathered strength. Why not? We can die but once, and " it is *kismat* where and when. Faithful friendship to the " end!"

The Prince's diary contains other items of information about the two excursions sketched to Fergusson. The first was evidently mismanaged and, as he says, insufficiently equipped. The good fortune allotted to his fortnight's jaunt was exhausted by three incidents; his pony returned to camp when it was supposed to be lost; he killed a boa; and his crockery remained sound after his cart had turned upside down. On the other side of the account, the fates dealt out to him three broken shafts of a cart of the *genus bandy*; slow bullocks and belated suppers, hours of waiting for blacksmiths, a night in the open air and fever—the natural August *finale* for jaunts at the foot of hills. What is pleasant in the narrative of these familiar incidents is that the Prince took all in good humour. Even when in Mysore he was made by a false guide to traverse eighteen miles instead of eight, he says with La Rochefoucauld—" Toute chose a son bon côté," and, in this, he acquired a complete knowledge of the locality and did his eighteen miles without anger. He was almost as ardent a sportsman as he was a traveller and

book-lover and, spite of all drawbacks which deficient strength must have caused, he enjoyed his nomad life thoroughly. "Here, in India," he says, on the Mysore tour, "the mere consciousness of existence fills the soul with thankfulness."

Prince Friedrich spared his archæological friend the recital of his *shikar* adventures, but one, at least, has some interest. He joined a Major Buckle in the Bálirangan hills and with him went out after elephants. They got within range of a tusker and from their two guns gave in succession, balls in the forehead, the temple and in the ear. The animal tottered and fell, rose and fell again and at length, with the aid of two females marched off. He was followed for three miles and then lost sight of. The Prince attributed the inefficiency of the balls to the fact that the elephant's head was level with the gun and to the angle therefore not being what it should have been. On December 15th, he was on his way, by *palki* from Chitaldrúg to Ballári when he fell alarmingly ill with dysentery. There was no shade on the open *maidan* except that afforded by a bridge and under this the sick man was laid for some hours, until he could endure to be carried to the nearest bungalow, two hours away. Doctors came from Ballári and Chitaldrúg and both declared the danger imminent but the Prince rallied and by Christmas day was able to reach Ballári. Here he found the dâk bungalow occupied by two high and mighty Englishmen who were smoking their morning pipes in the verandah. They refused him admittance and must have been of the class of which Jacquemont spoke when he said, "J'exècre les Anglais de bas étage." The Prince lay in his *palki* while his servants went from house to house to find quarters for him. They presently returned with a letter of hospitable intent from General Macleod who took the sick man in and treated him as though he had been a home-returned son. In Ballári he lay for some weeks before he could attempt to move towards Madras, and it was not until February that he was able to reach Guindy. Here he was strongly advised to return at once to Europe but he signified to his doctors that life was only of value to him under certain conditions—presumably those of having seen what he wanted to see in India—and they permitted him to sail to Calcutta. On February 20th, he was in Calcutta and the guest of Lord and Lady Lawrence and from Government House wrote to Goldstücker that he hoped to start shortly for Kashmír and to see with his own eyes the

cities of his desire, Benares, Dihlí and Láhor. He adds, that he shall not die happy if he cannot accomplish this. Contrasting Calcutta and Madras and remarking that there is more intellectual life in the former, he says: "Of course I mean in English society; from natives of the country one can always learn something."

He was while in Calcutta, elected a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and also paid a visit to the Madrasah. On the 7th March, he set out for Benares, "well cared for in "every respect and I shall in 28 hours, cover the 545 miles "which the good Jacquemont boasted of accomplishing in six "and a half weeks." Benares made on the traveller the vivid impression she cannot but make at the time of the *mela*. The river festivities were enjoyed under the escort of the Rajah's son and of the Maháráj ah of Vizianagram and enchanted the Prince. He left the city with the remark that every good thing has an end and so must the *mela* and fantastic days in Benares.

Ágrah was his next halting place and here Akbar set his seal on him. Through all his wanderings, there had ever run a fine thread of purpose and the time was now come when, by its guidance, he was led to the goal and object for which he had so long waited. His mind had been prepared to receive clear and deep impressions from whatever memorials of Akbar he might see and now—when he was exposed to the living influence of the giant architectural creations of the Mughuls—clear vision was vouchsafed and he saw his way. Hitherto, his regret at the vagueness of his aims had been constant and his intention to work on some one Indian subject equally permanent. Under the impact of impressions given by Ágrah and later on by Dihlí, his fluid desire crystallized into resolve to set before Germany the character and acts of the Emperor whose personality had become so attractive to himself.

Prince Friedrich pilgrimaged to Sikandrah and laid roses, his tribute of remembrance, on Akbar's grave. He was smitten with wonder at the grandeur of the mausoleum and, because like all works of genius, it touches the imagination at points outside its destined purpose, he saw in it an apt symbol of the life of the ruler in whose honour it lifts its magnificence to heaven. It may have spoken also to him, as to others, of something wider even than the full tide of Akbar's career, for it is eloquent of broad and unchambered

life, the immortal and jubilant force which makes for change and beauty and uplifts man's spirit in triumphant sense of persistence aud invincibility. The assertive fact of individual death has here its counterpart—in the grim vault which contains the dust of Akbar—but the fact of infinitely greater magnitude—that life is undecaying—is imaged in every portion of the sun-bathed structure. When one has climbed the terraces and sits in the sieved shadow of the fretted cloister, fancy kindles to a rejoicing vision of bounteous and genial life. Even the *memento* uttered by the broidered semblance of Akbar's tomb, speaks of repose and not of decay or rupture. Sikandrah is fruitful in suggestion and amongst many-hued thoughts of its occult summoning, reminds us that it was not England and not Europe only which paced through spacious times, in that summer of the centuries which saw the great Elizabeth, but that India also flushed with bloom of quickened life under the sway of Akbar.

Sikandrah then, working with other scenes, wrought on Prince Friedrich with wholesome charm and fixed his thoughts on Akbar as the object of his future energies. It was at Dihlí that he first made known his intention and this to his friend Goldstücker to whom he wrote with the modesty natural to his character and natural in presence of a man of great attainments in the sphere in which he was himself a tyro. He tells his friend and adviser that when he was in Calcutta and sat in the Madrasah with Blochmann and listened to even the sober philologist's talk about Akbar, he had felt, as Goethe puts it that our best part in history is the enthusiasm she kindles. He goes on to enumerate the influences which had turned his thoughts to Akbar—the traces of his activity and work in Northern India; the yet living traditions of his warlike deeds and the wise and just administration with which he had blessed his realm. He asks his monitor whether his idea of writing the life of his hero would not deliver his thoughts from chaos and give his spirit repose and governance. It is much to be regretted that Goldstücker's letters in answer to the warmly and humbly worded prayers for guidance, preferred on more than one occasion by the Prince, are not before us. The friendship which subsisted between the two men must have gained double interest by hearing the other person of the drama. We may, however, infer that Goldstücker encouraged the Prince's project, for his disapproval would have quenched

it. Prince Friedrich's diary, as published in the *Nachlass* (*Remains*) gives few details as to the impressions he gained at Dihlí, but the resolution he there arrived at as to his future occupation, was of weight sufficient to mark the great city of the eastern Dead for ever in his memory as the place were he touched the goal of his search. It was in April that he left Dihlí and proceeded on his further way towards Kashmír as far as Láhor. On the way thither he realized another of his desires—he saw the snows of the Himálayas, "like a miracle in which I could scarce believe "but which yet was genuine."

The rest of the year 1868 was spent in Kashmír and for the most part, with restoration of health in view. His first impressions, even of the scenery, were a disappointment. This last disillusion was the fault of his own false ideal, for later on, the true beauty of the land held him in happy thrall. His other source of disappointment was not so readily removable for he had expected congruity between nature's charms and man's action. The whole country had occupied a glorified niche in his fancy and he had, moreover, found the Rájah a most courteous gentleman and all Kashmíris friendly and helpful. Keen therefore, was the disgust with which he saw the evils which pressed on the population. It is not without satisfaction that an Englishman reads a German Prince's opinion, that ten years of administration such as the Panjáb enjoyed, would set Kashmír to rights. Most of the Prince's stay in the country was devoted to travel in the mountains where he had some sport and was, he says, idle. He improved somewhat in health but would seem to have subjected himself here, as in Southern India, to over fatigue and to climatic dangers. In November, he paid the price—an illness of so serious a nature that he did not even know how his way was made from Baramula onwards to Murill Pahar (Murree), a civilized spot where he was quartered in the club house and had the services of a doctor.

By December 2nd he had been able to reach Aṭak whence he went on to Láhor. Here he was advised that it would imperil his life if he remained in India during another hot season and at this second warning, he decided not again to tempt *kismat* but to return home. He accordingly left India for ever, in April 1869, and took a route to Europe which led him through the cities of his earlier love, Smyrna

and Damascus. He visited also Beyrut, where his father had died. He then travelled northwards, and finally came to rest at Noer which he thenceforth made his residence and where, as his first guest, he entertained his friend, monitor and teacher, Goldstücker.

The next marked step in his career was his marriage. He had long before said that he could not live alone at Noer and he fulfilled his prediction with little delay. In this matter, as in others, he broke from the traditions of his order. The exclusiveness of German aristocratical theory in questions matrimonial, is proverbial and the Prince's announcement that he intended to desert the sanctuary of propriety and marry a commoner, might well have been the last straw on the family camel which he had already overloaded with his literary impedimenta. When he communicated his intentions of marriage to Queen Caroline Amélie and asked her good wishes, he at the same time, informed her of another step which he had taken and which was of the greatest moment to the future fortunes of his family. He had been to Berlin, had seen the King and had, from him, received the title of Graf von Noer. It would seem that this was not the first recent change of title in the family, for Prince Emile had, in 1864, effected, or been made to effect the change from Prince of Schleswig-Holstein to that of Prince of Noer. Whether this was done for political reasons or in connection with his re-marriage (which took place a month after the grant of the new title by the then temporary suzerain of Holstein, the Emperor of Austria) we are not in a position to say. Prince Friedrich's motives for abdicating his higher rank are, however, beyond doubt for he gives them to Queen Caroline, on the 14th April 1870, with the announcement of his betrothal. He says that his change of title not only sets him free from the troubles of politics but enables him to marry according to his inclinations. One is naturally diffident before the inclinations of high alliances, but so much is clear, that he preferred to sacrifice his princely rank and title, rather than subject the lady of his choice to the ignominy of a morganatic marriage. Political complications were obviated by his surrender of title, as it presumably carried with it renouncement of his contingent claims to supremacy in Schleswig-Holstein. It may here be said that the ban of his exclusion from Denmark was not removed until 1881, in which year he visited his Danish kinsfolk, a renewal of relations

which gave him indescribable delight. "*Dulcis reminiscitur Argos*" his diary adds.

The seventeenth of May 1870, initiated what has been called by one of the Prince's acquaintance, ten years' idyll at Noer and was the day of his marriage with Carmen, daughter of Mr. Eisenblatt, a merchant of La Guayra in Vénézuela, and of Hamburg. Home and home happiness now filled his thoughts and ancient desires slumbered. For five peaceful years, he had respite from the scourgings of the Indian Eumenides. Not that his orientalism was dead; it was but repressed by the imperious barrier of his happiness and it was not until 1875 that, at the instigation of his wife, he put pen to paper and began the history of Akbar's reign.

"Here is the house of fulfilment of craving:
"Here is the cup with the roses around it;
"The World's wound well healed and the balm that hath bound it!"

The draft of the first chapter of *Kaiser Akbar* was dictated to the Countess von Noer on March 15th, 1875. Thenceforward the Count worked steadily, laying aside his pen only in sickness and at length, at the bidding of that king whom all obey. Early in the course of his task, he made a reflection which comes home to all who have entered the *penetralia* of literature. He learned, he says, that not men and nations only, but every piece of human intellectual work has its history. To those who know, it is easy to fill up this outline of thought. How many a book which now falls as dull and lifeless as chilled iron, would glow again, if one could see the elemental impulses which went to its creation and watch the fire which burned to its fashioning. For six and a half years the Count laboured at his "*Emperor Akbar*" the time being broken by an occasional flight from Noer, sometimes for pleasure, sometimes for health and sometimes for purposes connected with his work. He was well aware that the shadows of his evening were closing around him, for at the end of 1880, when the first part of the first volume had just been published, he wrote to Dr. George Hoffmann of Kiel—a friend of whom he said that he had stood bravely by him, with help and counsel—and told him, that the second part must be finished within a year or he himself would not be able to complete it. His anticipations were realized. The second part of the first volume was published late in 1881 and on Christmas Day the man of many journeys set out for his last and unknown bourn.

The immediate cause of the Count von Noer's death was an affection of the heart and his last hours were racked with pain. He could not lie down but, within an hour of his departure his long dominant passion asserted itself and he ordered his bed turned, so that he should face the east. He then had himself placed upon it, with the remark, that this would be his deathbed and that it was right at least for the last hours, to lie properly down. He did so and shortly afterwards said distinctly: "How beautiful," and passed away.

Of him too might Tennyson have said;

"All things I have enjoyed
"Greatly; have suffered greatly; both with those
"That loved me and alone."
"Much have I seen and known; cities of men,
"And manners, councils, climates, governments,
"Myself not least, but honoured of them all."

In accordance with arrangements which he had detailed to those who would care for his burial, a mausoleum was erected within sight of the house at Noer and in this his body was placed, enclosed in a sarcophagus. Everything that thoughtful sympathy could do to orientalize the spot, has been done. The path which leads from the rose garden to the rising ground of which the mausoleum is the crown, is thickly bordered with cypresses, the moslim tree of mourning. The building is itself shrouded by the same sad-hued, but aspiring emblems and is of eastern design. The sarcophagus rests on a dais which is spread with moslim prayer-carpets, brought for his purpose from India himself.

It is in the library of a servant of literature that the mournfulness of a purpose riven by death, is most felt. Prince Friedrich had been filled with a presentiment of the brevity of his day and it is in presence of his books that one's heart answers most readily to the pang which must have pierced his, when he knew that he must leave his work incomplete. These mutely eloquent friends are, for the most part, books of which India is the vital spark, they were gathered by his need and handled in his work and they dignify the room which his mother's memory consecrated in his regard. On his death-bed, he expressed his sorrow at his enforced desertion of his task and, spite of an assurance that it should be carried on, he must have felt, what he said of Goldstücker, that he was leaving an infant child to the doubtful usage of the world. He was 51 years of age when he died and the last decade of his

life had rounded almost to the calm and tranquillity of his childish years at Noer after a manhood of change and deprivation and exile.

Count Friedrich left two daughters. Had he left a son, it is possible that his widow might have been spared the many months of anxiety which have attended the decision of a law-suit which Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein has instituted with the aim of obtaining possession of Noer. The *crux* of the suit is said to be, whether the king of Denmark had the right to cut off the entail of Noer as was done at the instigation of Prince Friedrich who was desirous of securing the reversion of the estate to his wife and children. The case was heard in the lower court of Schleswig at the end of 1885, and was decided on all points in favour of the Countess of Noer. There were, however, difficult questions of royal prerogative involved and an appeal has been allowed. The special hardship of the case, in the eyes of friends of the Countess is that her husband made every effort to ensure that his children should inherit. Noer is not an old possession of the Schleswig-Holstein family but was brought in by the mother of Prince Emile, who left it to him, her second son and from him it passed on to Prince Friedrich. There is, therefore, something repugnant to good feeling in the attempt of another member of the house to take the estate from the branch to which it had been given by the lady who brought it into the Schleswig-Holstein family. No one can suppose that she would have wished to impoverish the descendants of the son to whom she gave it.

We have now to turn from Prince Friedrich to his writings. His earliest published work is *Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens* (*Things New and Old from Eastern Lands*), and consists of three thin octavo volumes, the first of which deals with India, the others with Egypt and Asia Minor. The primary materials for the work were gathered by the Prince, then a boy of nineteen, during his travels in 1849-50. In 1854, he began to work upon this basis and published the completed book in 1858. As has been mentioned, it was given to the world under the pseudonym of *Onomander*. It is much more than a record of travel, for not only has this been matured by revision and addition, but in each volume there are chapters which deal for the most part with politics or history and which are the result of later study. Thus, in the Indian volume, there are two such,

entitled respectively, "India in General" and "the Revolt in Bengal." These chapters open with some general remarks: "Hindústán," says the author, "would be unique if it had not its counterpart in Spain." It is not only in their physical positions that a resemblance is noted but still more in the characteristics and circumstances of the inhabitants, and notably in their common possession of individual courage and fighting power, but also in their common lack of the qualities which make the General. Unfortunately for the complete justice of the novel comparison, the Prince has massed the peoples of India, and his imaged "Indian" is a Sikh or a Rájpút. Passing on, we find a sketch of the various conquests and occupations of the country from the time of Alexander to those of Clive and Hastings. To read our own affairs by a foreign light, is always a means of rekindling our interest in them and of illuminating corners which have escaped our vision. This interest attaches to Prince Friedrich's attempt to set before German readers the story of the British occupation of India. His work is the outcome of a very considerable amount of reading and although its material is familiar, it has the freshness of foreign representation. Following the historical survey, is an examination of the causes which evoked the Mutiny. It is not without a pleasant touch of novelty that one finds the Prince quoting Disraeli's speeches in the House, as evidence for several of his statements. He is strong in his blame of the supineness of the Indian Government in face of repeated warnings of the approaching storm. Amongst other such warnings which he enumerates is one, about which, on perusing it in a foreign tongue, one cannot stifle the wish that it had been kept, like a family failing, for home criticism only. He tells us that, just after the annexation of Audh, more than 40,000 sipahís petitioned for a restoration of the former state of things and asked why they and their king had been reduced from independence. These petitions *not being on stamped paper*, were disregarded. Can this be true?

As has been said, Prince Friedrich's stay in Bengal in 1849, was limited to some three weeks and his sight-seeing to the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta. He paid a visit to Chandarnagar and was there the guest of M. Courjon. He gives a short sketch of the life of this noticeable man and tells us that M. Courjon was of French origin, born in the Mauritius and that his parents, though of good

descent, being without fortune, he came to India to make his own. From the Rájahs of Tipperah he received land on favourable conditions and set about the cultivation of rice and indigo. He prospered exceedingly and acquired such influence in Tipperah, that the British Government on several occasions employed him as its intermediary between themselves and the Rajahs. Prince Friedrich praises the admirable demeanour of M. Courjon and was unaffectedly attracted by the wealth of his conversation and by his amiable willingness to tell what he knew. On leaving Chandarnagar, the avid listener recalled Madame de Stael's dictum that sometimes, the remembrance of a man which whom one has spent only a few minutes, is more permanent and pleasant than the memory of one, with whom fate has compelled us to live for ten years.

Perhaps the most interesting passage in the record of the Prince's sojourn in Bengal is that in which he describes an interview at Fort William, with the then state-prisoner Mulráj. He was himself a political exile and although he tries to hold the balance fair, it is pretty clear that he did not regard Mulráj as a malefactor but rather as the victim of British political necessities. Here, as elsewhere in his narrative, one may hear the echo of the opinions of those that bear rule.

"Some of the houses in the Fort have been arranged for "the reception of state prisoners and at this time the former "ruler of Multán was amongst them. The fate of this man, "who, but a short time before, had attracted so much atten- "tion in the Indian world, is not in itself devoid of interest "but what increased our own in him, was that we were "allowed to visit him. On this occasion, the Commandant "of the Fort, one of our most agreeable and courteous Calcutta "acquaintances, was so kind as to accompany us and to act "as interpreter. Amîr (*sic*) Mulráj has had many accusers "but also some defenders: some regard him as a daring "malefactor, while others pity him as a political victim "and take his character under protection. According to "the most impartial and trustworthy of the authorities "at our disposal, the facts of his affairs are as follows:— "The ancient fort of Multán lies to the north of Sindh "and between the Indus and the Sutlej. It once belonged "to the dominions of Runjit Singh but after their partition, "became a small independent state at the court of which

"the English, according to their custom, had two political "agents. The Afghán war, the conquest of Sindh, as well "as the stubborn conflict in the Punjab, had excited to the "highest degree, the hatred of the Multánís for the "foreigners whose growing power was a threat to their "independence. In a tumult in the city of Multán, the "two agents fell victims to the outburst of anger on the "part of the inflammable and warlike Multánís, who had "from the first regarded their presence with distrust and "ill-will. They were killed in the street and as some of "their servants averred, on their way to the citadel, to seek "the protection of the Amír. It has never been possible "to clear up all the circumstances of the sad occurrence. "On one side, the whole blame is laid on Mulráj who is "declared to have instigated the tumult for the purpose of "ridding himself of the two officers; on the other, no "credence is given to the accusation. Be this as it may, "the British Government naturally demanded satisfaction "for an atrocity, committed, apparently, at the Amír's insti- "gation. Mulráj insisted that he had no part in it and "was, therefore, not in a position to discover the murderers "for punishment at his own hands or for surrender to the "English. He had more fear of his own rebellious subjects "than of any possible consequences of the anger of his "powerful neighbours, who at the time, were busied with "war in the Punjáb. Soon, however, an army was on the "march, Multan was besieged and after a brave resistance, "surrendered to evade the horrors of a final storming on Ja- "nuary 2nd, 1849. Mulráj was sent to the recently-captured "Lahor and there tried like a common criminal and sen- "tenced to death by hanging. This sentence was, by an "act of clemency, commuted to imprisonment for life in "Fort William.

"The deposed Amir is distinguished no less by his noble "presence than by his agreeable manners. He may be "between forty and fifty years of age. (This is written "of 1849). He has the marks of a man of high caste to- "gether with characteristics of his Afghan origin. He is "tall and slender and his features are well cut and regular; "his complexion which is almost as fair as that of a well- "born Turk, forms a picturesque contrast to his curly black "beard. The fire of his dark eye is dimmed by trouble— "dimmed, but not quenched, and his demeanour betrays "the proud indifference and calm surrender to unalterable

" fate which a high-born oriental never loses. He is separa-
" ted from his family who are held prisoners at Lahor. One
" only of his former friends has remained true to him and
" has voluntarily followed him here, to share his captivity.
" It was touching to see that this man, himself a man of
" birth and fine presence, did not disdain to join the duties
" of a menial servant to those of a trusted friend. Mulráj
" was manifestly pleased that our visit should break in on his
" monotony and this removed all our apprehensions about
" disturbing him. The Amir could as little renounce his
" natural pride as can the caged lion. When the heavy
" bolts were withdrawn and we entered his room, he re-
" ceived us with a grave dignity which bordered on con-
" descension. The English comport themselves towards
" their fallen foe with the most respectful consideration
" allowed by the circumstances and it gave us sincere pleasure
" to notice, that Colonel W. did not seat himself until his
" prisoner had made a slight gesture of permission. The
" Amír opened the conversation, and with delicate amenity
" and skilful lightness, led it over a variety of subjects which
" would have done credit to a European man of the world.
" As a matter of course, we avoided touching upon his own
" situation but material for conversation did not fail, for
" Mulráj has had, for his position, a comprehensive and
" thorough education. He has the reputation of great learn-
" ing, reads and writes Hindústání, Arabic and Persian, and
" would seem to be well versed in the literature of the last
" named language. Through the Arabic historians he ap-
" pears to have some acquaintance with ancient Greek philo-
" sophy and (so far as we could understand,) expressed him-
" self at length concerning Aflatoune, Aristoune and Bahádur
" Secunder Saheb. (Plato, Aristotle, and Alexander.) He
" was pleased by our interest in his conversation, as well as
" by the good will we showed in trying to make him under-
" stand us, and the visit only came to an end when our oblig-
" ing friend, the Commandant, had exhausted his store of
" Hindústání-Persian. At first Mulráj was somewhat re-
" served but grew more and more talkative and, amongst
" other things, told us that he was occupying himself with
" his biography and the history of Multán. He showed us,
" not without visible satisfaction, some very beautiful Persian
" MSS., a part of his work. At the end of our visit, he ac-
" companied us to the door, where he dismissed us with the
" same dignified demeanour with which he had received us.

"The whole reception was more like the durbar of a reigning "prince than a stranger's visit of curiosity."

The second volume of *Altes und Neues* treats, for the most part, of the Prince's impressions of Cairo and the Pyramids. It contains also three political chapters on Syria and on the dissensions between the Porte and the Pasha. Like all the writings of Prince Friedrich, it bears the stamp of first hand information and personal experience. He is indignantly sarcastic on those who penetrate a foreign country only so far as to see it through the eyes of domiciled foreigners, and tells a story of a member of an Asiatic Society (he is thus indefinite), who set out to travel in the East for the purpose of collecting material for a book. He reached Constantinople and there, on the landing stage, had the misfortune to break his leg. This confined him to an hotel in the Frank quarter of Pera whence on his recovery he set out for home direct, wrote his book and gave it to the world with the colour of having eye-witnessed all he wrote of.

Egypt filled the prince with delight and he could reconcile himself to his departure only by dwelling on the thought that he was going from her to the classic lands of Asia Minor. He sailed from Alexandria for Smyrna and his voyage carried him through a maze of islands, whose names alone are a spell to conjure thoughts of beauty and art and heroic song. Would it be possible for familiarity to smirch the bloom of Crete and Naxos, of Samos and Chios? One may hope not, for even its many prosaic and ignoble uses have not frittered from India all its power of charming connotation. As has been said, Prince Friedrich found Smyrna surpassingly beautiful and chimes in with Strabo's praise of it as the most lovely of cities. From it, as his head-quarters, he and a few fellow-travellers from India—*reliquiae Danaum*—dared the choice of ransom or death and made an agreeable expedition to Nimphi. Subsequently, when even the last of his comrades had been drawn by some stronger attraction to his fatherland, the Prince went alone to Ephesus, and of this city of manifold associations he has left a full and interesting account. Returning to Smyrna, he devoted a brief space to the sweetest *far niente* and assures his readers that the man who does this is by no means idle because he is receiving impressions and making observations and being moved to reflect. In fact, the Prince

was realizing what is the germ of fruitful travel—that one should go forth not to see, but to be shewn sights, not like a person to whose good vision all things will be clear, but in the spirit of one who waits for a revelation.

In the place of his present sojourn, it was natural that the traveller should have Homer open in his hands and his pages show, by many a quotation done into full-mouthed German that poetry lent her aid to add to the other charms of his journey. At this stage of his book, as easily as at any other, one may, by reference to his sources, seek proof of his industry in working up his matter. His notes show abundant research: to such masters of the ringing change of words as Aeschylus and Ovid and Virgil to Herodotus and Pliny are added Boileau and Pope, Gibbon and Gervinus, Hamilton and Schubert, and many another name of men whose words can guide or support opinion. The third volume of *Altes und Neues* concludes with an account of a most recompensing, if equally fatiguing, ride from Smyrna to a point on the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople. With briefest mention of this we leave the book which introduced our author into that realm of literary labour of which he had dreamed that no greater felicity lured the sons of men, than to dwell within its chequered shades.

Between 1858 and 1880, Prince Friedrich published no book, but some articles of which we are not able, in India, to verify the dates, probably belong to the interval. These were contributions to the Kiel Journal, to English periodicals and in addition, were several obituary notices, amongst which was one published in the *Times* in November 1876 and commemorating the life of Count von Prokesch-Osten. In 1880-81, he published the result of five years of work in the first volume of *Kaiser Akbar*. Before further notice of this book, it will be of interest to form some estimate of the qualifications which its author brought to the accomplishment of his self-selected task. These it is easy to underrate, in face of his self-depreciation in presence of scholars such as Blochmann and Goldstücker, as well as before his own ideal of the perfected product of systematic education. Of certain natural qualifications for literary work, Prince Friedrich had full measure: he was industrious and spared no pains; he was patient and had the humility which promotes caution and he had that capacity for enthusiasm which is the vital spark of all work. His general culture

was very considerable; he was free of French and English literature: he could read Latin and Greek with pleasure; he had studied Sanskrit under Goldstücker for several years —subject and teacher in themselves a constellation of educative forces—and he had in addition, the ductile mind of the travelled man.

It is undeniable that the first requisite for a scholarly handling of the material existing for a biography of Akbar is a knowledge of Persian sufficient to the collation of the *Akbarnámáh*, the *Táríkh-i-Badáoni* and the *Tabaqát-i-Akbari*. Such critical skill the Prince never attained and he tells us in his preface that he had to base his work upon translations. He, however, never proposed to himself to treat his subject in anything but such fashion as would make it acceptable to the ordinary reading world and for this, his available material was ample. He was not without knowledge of Persian, even at the commencement of his work and in 1876, he spent a winter in Paris for the purpose of increasing his acquaintance with it. He was, nevertheless, even to the last, put to inconvenience by want of facility in comparing discrepant statements in his English sources. Of these his main reliance was upon Sir Henry Elliot and Professor Dowson's "*History of India as told by its own historians.*" Another translation of the utmost value, was that in manuscript, of the *Akbárnámáh*, by Lieutenant Chalmers and in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. A mine of incalculable wealth to him was Blochmann's* Ain-i-Akbari, with its biographical notices and its extracts from the *Táríkh-i-Badáoní*. The field for European research was wide and the Prince spared neither time nor labour nor travel to reap from it. Of this, the mere consideration of the books to which he refers in the course of his volume, is evidence.

The first volume of the Emperor Akbar was finished with

* This book is one of those which all who have occasion to work from it, must respect and admire. It suggests a fertile field for such *litterateurs* as have Persian well at command. Blochmann's biographical outlines (taken for the most part from the *Maasir-ul-Umara*) could certainly, in some cases, be filled up from family records and Akbar's stage be peopled with figures as life-like as those which move round Elizabeth.

To one who, without any knowledge of Persian, has followed the Prince over his ground for the purpose of rendering his book into English, his difficulties seem at times to have been great and sometimes to have arisen from causes which would be avoidable if the translations from the Persian had been subjected to the scrutiny of a revisional committee.

great difficulty and amid presentiments of death which find utterance in its preface. Here, too, speaks the affection for his subject which had grown up in the Count in years of "intimate communion" within "four narrow walls," and which must have sharpened regret at his inability to illustrate the remaining scenes of his hero's career. To his book on sending it forth, he says: "The wide world is rough with crags "and tempestuous with storms; if it should not fare with "thee as we desire, bear thy destiny with patience and "should any censure thee unmercifully, counsel them "rather to bend their powers to excel thee; so will thy "path although not thornless yet lead thee to thy goal." Within a few weeks of the Count's death, in 1881, his manuscript had been entrusted to Dr. Gustav von Buchwald for revision and edition. The second and completing volume appeared in 1885. As was perhaps inevitable, it bears the marks of change in the directing mind. One distinct alteration of plan is made by the substitution of voluminous quotation for the author's more laborious practice of assimilating his material into an independent creation. Dr. von Buchwald's method has advantages in face of the great difficulties which accrue to the finisher of another man's work but it makes some break of continuity in the book. One set of his quotations is however of interest, namely, that from Chalmer's somewhat inaccessible manuscript.

Akbar's life as set forth by his German commentator, reiterates the fact that he was a foreigner in India and that his rule was a military occupation. No drop of blood of any race within the Khaibar flowed in his veins and the armies by which he held his dominions were for the most part the levies of men who had followed his father from beyond the frontier of Hindústán. Like himself, these settled in the country and in the earlier days of the occupation, brought in their families. After the adhesion of the house of Amber (Jaipúr) he had Rájpút troops in his service but his main reliance was always on men of ultra-Himálayan birth or descent.

It is so common to hear Akbar held up as a ruler of whom India may boast because he was her own, that an Englishwoman takes a peculiar pleasure in repeating the fact of his alien birth. Not indeed because it is agreeable to go out of the way to tell again the less grateful facts of history but because seeing this error, she has the hope that some hundreds

of years hence, some of the men of her own blood whom only the brief tenure of their office has, she believes, thwarted from making a reputation as great and as well-deserved as Akbar's, may be so blended into India's story, that they, too, shall be claimed as rulers of whom the whole land may boast, notwithstanding that they are as alien in blood as was the mighty Emperor whose sway they now inherit.

By perusal of *Kaiser Akbar* an old fact concerning Bengal and one which is not without eloquence to every *laudator temporis acti*, gains new prominence,—that its people have had scant part in its history, that is the tale of its rulers and their wars and their glory. It was not from Bengalís that Akbar took Bengal, but from the Afghán rulers who had held it for their own profit for more than four hundred years. No name of any Bengalí comes for mention in the Count's book as that of a Hindú who rose to power. The Hindús of great name whose services reflected glory on Akbar, were all distinguished as soldiers, before they were known for any other merit. Todar Mall, a *khetri* of Láharpúr in Audh, was a general before he was a *díwán* and the other renowned Hindús of the reign were almost without exception hard fighting Rájpúts. Bengal in those days had no voice; its people were there, peaceful yielders of revenue; so, too, was the treasure chest, and then as it had been for many a by-gone century, the history of the province was a record of the struggles for the key.

Of Akbar's talent as a controller of men and of his surpassing interest as a man of active and unusual type of mind, we learn much that is unfamiliar from the Count of Noer's book. His representation, moreover, presses it home that, spite of his intellectual proclivities and desire to deal justice, Akbar was not the ruler of a summer's day but a man of strenuous action and withal a strong and stout annexationist before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales. He believed, probably without any obtrusion of a doubt as to his course, that the extension and consolidation of territory was a thing worth fighting for; he believed in supremacy as in itself, a desirable object and, having men and money, he went to work and took tract after tract without scruple. His position, being as he was the builder of an empire, is comprehensible, and it is indisputable that his fame as a ruler is in no small degree due to the circumstance that, having men of diverse nationalities to manage, he compassed the task; a

success which could not have been his, if he had not been given to conquest. He was not like Victoria, born heir to this Briarean labour but he brought it on himself by being what he was or nothing—a thorough and self-seeking annexationist.

In him there was fully developed, moreover, another form of imperial annexation,—that which absorbs enormous sums of money for the sovereign's personal use. Perhaps in no way is the progress of ideas about the claims of the holder of a kingly office on his people more marked, than by a consideration of the respective consumption of revenue on personal objects, under the Emperor of Hindústán of the 16th century and the Empress of the 19th. Akbar annually took from the service of the people, vast sums of money for the maintenance of his own and his sons' establishments. These establishments were not like the modest households of our Viceroys or even of the Queen-Empress herself but contained regiments of servants and armies of elephants, horses, &c., &c. Akbar's seraglio alone numbered 3000 women, each of whom had a fixed salary and definite perquisites. One needs no figures to assure one that the commissariat obligations only, of these domestic hordes would now prove, what Abul Fazl says the ordering of a harem was, a "question vexatious for even a great statesman." On the other hand, it is one of the remarkable features of the present occupation of India, that its Empress takes no single *rupi* from it for the maintenance of her State.

In at least one particular, the reigns of India's most potent rulers are alike. Akbar, as does Victoria, administered his empire by means of foreign officials and like her, held it by a foreign army. Akbar's officials of cis-Himálayan birth who were distinguished for other than martial talent, were singularly few. Todar Mall Bír Bar, and though *impari passu*, Rái Patr Dás, completing their list. In one particular the administration of Akbar was distinctly inferior to that of Victoria; it was tainted by the corruption which makes an office lucrative beyond the range of its nominal salary. Akbar's lieutenants ruled like kings in state and luxury and for the greater part of his reign, as was natural when the strong arm yielded the one essential service he required from his chiefs, their doings were practically unchecked. Todar Mall at length attempted some restraint, but he does not come into prominence as even a soldier till the 18th

year of Akbar's reign and although emplyed for a short time in revenue matters in that year and in the 19th, he did not as *dìwán* institute his memorable financial reforms till the 27th. Meantime the pagoda tree flourished and bore fruit.

Undoubtedly Akbar's greatest power of attraction for us lies in his many-sidedness. He was an all-round man and the pages which concern him offer at very turn fresh matter for interested perusal. Everything was food for his activities and his career was an unbroken development of character. In youth, he was a dashing and impetuous soldier and together with physical vigour, had a capacity for intellectual occupation which time fostered to be the assuagement of his failing strength. The Count delights to dwell upon that side of the Emperor's character which prompted just dealing, and no less, on that which was its complement, his intellectual interest in varieties of custom and creed. Probably the very tolerance for which he is renowed, was less the outcome of conquered prejudice than of this openness of mind to novelty. Tolerant he was, but by no means so much so as is the British Ráj, which sits apart from all the burning topics in which Akbar delighted. He rejoiced in polemical discussion and there is in his career nothing more interesting than his Thursday convocations of professors of all the creeds, in the *Ibádát Khánah*, at Fathpúr Síkrí. His tolerance was, it must be admitted, more at the service of the latitudinarians than of the orthodox of the Muhammdan faith who were regarded with less favour than were even orthodox Hindús. This was natural, for the Emperor's mind was seeking material for the institution of his own creed, the *Dìn-i-iláhì*, and he could get stimulus better from opinion in ferment than from rigid and definite creeds. Of all the many interesting passages of our author's work, none exceeds in attraction that which tells of the missions of the Jesuit Fathers from Goa to the Court of Akbar and the liking and respect which the doubting Emperor conceived for Father Aquaviva.

In concluding this notice of *Kaiser Akbar* it should be said that the book has two points of special value: it is the first life of Akbar published apart from such as are incorporated in general histories and it gathers together great store of information from books which are somewhat difficult of access.*

It now remains only to speak of the third and last of the

* *Kaiser Akbar* has been translated into French by M. G. Bonet de Maury.

works of which the names head this article and on which its biographical portion is based. Strictly it is not the production of the Count of Noer for it was edited and in part written by others. It consists of sketches of various periods of his life from his own hand, extracts from his diary, and numerous letters from him to friends and relatives. To these have been added passages by other hands, as supplement to inevitable *lacunae*. The book is edited by the lady to whom he dedicated the greatest effort of his life. On the opening page of *Kaiser Akbar* stands inscribed "With grateful affection, I dedicate this work to Carmen, Countess of Noer, my beloved wife and comrade." The volume of Remains (*Nachlass*) which does so much to show in its subject the bloom of the qualities which are the obligation of nobility, bears the dedication, "Consecrated, with grateful affection, to the memory of a nobleman by Carmen, Countess of Noer." All can take the hint given by these epitomes of ruptured happiness, and need not be told that the volume under our notice is a labour of love. Its contents would awaken interest, even if the Count had left no other written word, because they delineate a man of sterling excellence and most winning character. They tell a tale of suffering and deprivation and so, too, of a just and upright spirit whom losses and loneliness did not sour but made tolerant, and grateful for affection. Brave and gentle, he veiled courageous independence under a courteous and modest manner; he lived laborious days in pursuit of an idea and he bore a dole of pain with a patience, pluck and elasticity which command hearty admiration. All this and much more can be read in the *Remains*, which has the additional merit of simplicity and straightforward reliance on the penetrative power of an estimable and attractive character.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

WITH GRATEFUL AFFECTION,

I DEDICATE THIS WORK TO

CARMEN,

COUNTESS OF NOER,

MY BELOVED WIFE AND LIFE COMPANION.

PREFACE.

OF the many famous sovereigns of the East, few are comparable with Akbar and to him indisputably belongs the first place amongst the rulers of Hindústán. Not only was he equally great as a man, a warrior, and a statesman, but his reign fell at a time fitted to afford the free-est play to his eminent qualities. For in India, too, the 16th century was impregnate with energy ;, in it great political issues were wrought out and at the same time, in all the provinces of social and intellectual life there was an outburst of vigour and activity which well corresponded to its gigantic external revolutions. As the pivot, upon which for 50 years, the fates of India revolved during this mighty movement, Akbar's personality is therefore justly adapted to stimulate not only interest but also that admiration which when once awakened irresistibly constrains us to further inquiry.

When, in 1868, I sat, in the Calcutta Madrasa, besides my friend Blochmann, who unhappily like so many others has since then too early passed away, and he whose character bore the impress rather of sober philology than of impassioned fancy, discoursed to me of Akbar, I felt as Goethe says, that history's best gift is the enthusiasm which she stirs. Then again, in wandering over northern India I found on all sides enduring traces of Akbar's activity and results of his influence, now in magnificent architectural creations,

now in those traditions of his mighty deeds which yet live in the popular mouth. These impressions gave the first impetus to a more thorough study of his life and of his influence on his age. Of material there was, in truth no lack, for the memory of hardly another ruler has maintained itself so vividly in the heart of the peoples of India. Not only is he praised in their annals but, a fact of much deeper significance, he has become a chief hero of national poetry and legendary lore wherein he is immortalized as the great king who conquered and then protected the Hindús. The outcome of my impressions was a desire to awaken in others some interest in the object of my own enthusiasm so that, in the first flush of zeal, without hesitation, without weighing the difficulties inevitable to the work, it was taken in hand. A sketch of the life of Akbar was made at one draft, and with the exuberance of fresh pleasure, but on closer examination it proved inadequate and verified the maxim of Abu Háshím, the ancient Arabian sage, "The first step in knowledge is doubt," *i. e.*, criticism.

All performance has its inner story and he who earnestly and persistently labours the intellectual field has felt the joys and pangs of creation; but this is not the place to dilate upon the growth of my book, it suffices briefly to indicate its aim. It should exhibit no specialist research—let such be resigned to "orientalists and historiographers" but should strive to attract the attention of a wider circle to the newer India and to Akbar. Possibly such an undertaking, on the part of one who has not been schooled within the "sacred

precincts of knowledge" may be regarded and this especially by professed students as more than audacious. Renunciation of scholastic method however, carries with it at least this advantage—the avoidance of the tediousness which is a too frequent adjunct to scientific treatment and which repels a layman from the outset. Everything, therefore, which is usually designated "apparatus" and which breathes of "scientific method" has been sedulously avoided, while at the same time, no pains have been spared to establish facts accurately and to group them lucidly. For the above reasons, the notes have been limited to the essential and the transcription of oriential names has been effected in a manner to suit the German reader and this the rather that there exists, as yet, no accepted system of transliteration. As however the introductory sections have been in print two years and during this period many changes of orthography have come to seem desirable, these will be detailed among the errata and corrigenda. Some illustrations possibly, a historical map and an index will be published at the conclusion of the work.

The name of Akbar, it is true, finds mention in many European writings and by several authors of general histories of India amongst whom Elphinstone if not at greatest length speaks of him with most justice. Nevertheless Europe has hitherto lacked a special and detailed estimate of a man whose personality and acts were of such moment for India.*

* Dr. Limburg-Bronwer's "Akbar" is a novel and not a historical work. As Lina Schneider, the German translator of the work has remarked, the

It is quite otherwise with Oriental historians who have created a copious Akbar literature which if alien in style to European taste and possibly inadequate as genuine history is none the less rich in material. Of this wealth of authority only that unfortunately relatively limited portion which has been translated has been available for my purposes; this portion, however, so bristles with debateable facts and problems that it has demanded the elaboration of years.

The Oriental histories of Akbar which come under our special consideration are written in Persian, by contemporary chroniclers who played a more or less conspicuous part in public life, and were therefore, not merely eye-witnesses but frequently participators in the events recorded. Their works are as follows:

(1.) The Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí of Nizámuddín Ahmad Bakhshí, in the series of translations by Sir Henry Elliot and Professor Dowson, entitled "The history of India, as told by its own historians." (Lond. 1867-77. 8 Vols. 8vo. Vol. V, 177-476.) On this chronicle my work is based because its records of fact are the most accurate and faithful; its style is simple and free from elaboration; it is without the bombast which Wassaf and Mirkhond had made current among eastern authors and it is consequently the more readable and attractive to Europeans. It contains a wealth of material but, it must be confessed, in a state of uncritical disarray.

(2.) The Akbarnámah and the Áín-i-Akbarí of

chief object of the author appears to have been the presentation of his own religious views in an attractive guise.

Shaikh Abul Fazl Allámí, the first in a MS. translation, with many lacunae, by Lt. Chalmers, and lent to me by the Asiatic Society of London: (2 vols. fol. Madras, 1832.) The latter in Blochmann's translation, unhappily unfinished but which contains numerous addenda by the translator and is a mine of reliable information as to the modern history of Asiatic Muhammadans.

Where portions of Blochmann's translation are wanting, recourse has been had to an older rendering of the entire work by Gladwin, "Ayeen Akbary or the Institutes of the emperor Akber" although as a translation it leaves much to be desired.

The Akbarnámah is as it were the "Moniteur" and the Áín is the "Institutes" of Akbar's government. The illustrious Abul Fazl, the bosom-friend and chief counsellor of his imperial patron is distinguished for his elevated, if frequently affected style. His weight as an authority must not be undere-stimated because his judgments of contemporary events are at times tinged by an intelligible partiality, for he was too honest to condescend to the falsification of history for the sake of glorifying his master and hero. His circumstantial and often laboriously accurate narrative is a welcome complement to the more brief accounts of Nizámuddín Ahmad.

(3.) The Táríkh-i-Badáoní or Muntakhab-Al-Tawáríkh of Mulla 'Abdul Qádir Badáoní. Extracts from this work are inserted in Blochmann's Áín-i-Akbarí, in Elliot-Dowson's History of India (V. 477-549) and in Rehatsek's "Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of

Esllám" (One vol. small 8vo. Bombay, 1866.) The learned Badáoní was, it is true, in Akbar's pay and lived at his court, but the emperor's free-thinking intelligence was an abomination to the narrow heart of the strict Sunni, and he did not scruple to give vent to the rancour of his bitter moods at every available outlet in these chronicles which were first made public after the death of Akbar. Badáoní was in some respects, the Procopius of India and his malicious remarks and innuendoes serve as a fitting standard for testing and retracting to their true worth the almost unbroken commendations of the official historians. The Muntakhab-Al-Tawáríkh is one of the most valuable sources for the biography of Akbar, the invectives and detractions of its author being often more informing than the laboured praises of Abul Fazl.

(4.) "The history of the rise and fall of the Muhammadan power in India till the year 1612," translated from the Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, by Col. Briggs, a meritorious work, though this translation also labours under many defects. (4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1829.) Ferishta was a cotemporary of Akbar, but was never brought into personal contact with him; he lived in the Dekhan and visited Hindústán only after the emperor's death. He was however in the train of the Sultána Begum of Bíjápúr, when she travelled to Burhánpúr on the occasion of her marriage with Prince Dányál, Akbar's youngest son. A Persian by birth, and a Shia by creed, Ferishta was a man of clear judgment and polished

general education; his unadorned style is marked by elegance and noble simplicity. He had the art of using the writings of his predecessors with discretion and discrimination, and his representation of events is measured and just.

In passages rendered doubtful by divergence or contradiction among the above-cited authorities, Blochmann's master-work has been consulted as finally decisive, but a persistent effort has been made to form an independent judgment.

One European History only has been used, and this because it is unique in its class—the "Annals and Antiquities of Rájasthán, or the central and western Rájpoot states of India" by Lt.-Col. Tod (2 vols. 4to. Lond. 1829-32) and as third volume, his posthumous work entitled, "Travels in Western India." (4to. Lond. 1839). These three volumes contain much that is confused and much that deserves to be called fantastic, but they likewise contain, in abundance, treasure such as is not to be met with elsewhere, in their descriptions of manners and in pictures of national life and tradition. Tod was a man of noble character and warm heart; his long service among the Rájpúts gave him the most admirable opportunity of making himself acquainted with their history, their views of life, manners and customs. He is one of the few who have penetrated the genius of the East; and he possessed an inestimable gift in his power of assimilating himself to the eastern character, a character to most Europeans so alien and therefore so uncongenial—and of reproducing the

impressions made by it upon him in life-like pictures. On certain points his statements must be received with caution, because his enthusiastic predilection for the Rájpúts leads him sometimes into injustice to the Moslims and in particular to Akbar, about whom he makes some assertions which may be overlooked in him but in none other. No one, however, need hesitate to derive from him information as to Rájpút feeling and mode of thought, and on these subjects his excellent writings fittingly supplement the scanty or prejudiced and designedly incomplete records of Muhammadan historians. The poet justifies such sources of knowledge as he provides when he says,

"And deeper meaning
"Lies in the fables of my childhood's years,
"Than in life's gain of truth."

for in fact, what the fairy tales of his childish years are to a man, that are traditions to the nations —handed down from one generation to another, they are often more historic and more in harmony with truth than the artificial inductions built up on established facts by later expounders and illuminators of the past.

It was soon manifest that the material at my disposal was too copious and too varied for single handling; it was therefore necessary to summon other helpers in order with their co-operation to collect, arrange methodically, and work through it anew. As far as the task has yet progressed, Dr. Jacob Hinrich Theissen and Dr. Paul Haupt have been my collaborateurs and my friend Professor George Hoffman

has also stood gallantly by me with word and deed. Sincerely indebted as I am to these gentlemen for their assistance, it must be distinctly stated that they are free from every kind of responsibility and that this rests on me alone, seeing that I have been far from agreeing with them on all points. It was at first my intention not to publish anything until the whole work was complete, but difficulties grew and progress became proportionately slower while the goal of completion was still invisible; therefore, as it is always better to accomplish a little than nothing, I resolved to issue the first part alone. This instalment contains only two sections, of which the first gives a general view of the condition of India in the 16th century as fully as imperative brevity permitted; the second covers Akbar's youth up to his 25th year, a period which if absolutely short, was rendered of great importance to India by its results. The twelfth year of the reign afforded a suitable point for a pause in the narrative because succeeding years called new elements and new interests into existence which shaped events to an essential different form. The remainder of the work is indeed written down, but it still requires much labour to prepare it for publication. May time and strength not fail!

All that remains for me to say cannot be better expressed than in the words which Wassiljew prefixes to his history of Buddhism. "The more deeply a scholar enters into a science the less does he remain content with his researches. In direct relation to the profundity of his study is the swarm of problems

which rise to his mind and were unforseen at the initiation of his work. He sooner than any reader grasps the fact that his presupposed goal is visionary and that still many a word, many an expression requires verification, which causes no offence to another. I am convinced that no conscientious author lets his work go to publication without a heart-throb." Amid such reflections, one recals the help of friends with lively gratitude. In addition to those I have named there are many who have afforded me indirect assistance. To all I here offer my hearty thanks, and in particular, to the Administration of the National Library of Paris, the treasures of which have been placed at my disposal with true urbanity and generosity. Three friends I may be permitted to name because they are already numbered with the dead and it is a duty the more sacred to keep their memory green;—David Urquhart, Theodor Goldstücker and Prokesch-Osten; these were the masters whose teaching first led me to know the genius of the the East and—in Oriental phrase—without the "consecration of their breath" this book would have had no existence.

Plutarch tells us that in spite of his faults, Greece bore great love to Philopœmen as the child of her age and her last national hero. Like Philopœmen, Akbar had faults and like him he is worthy of love, for he was India's last truly great sovereign. Not without regret can one part from the object of one's long if laborious admiration. But parting is nature's inexorable law, "nothing is eternal but change."

Go thou now forth, thou Akbar of my hands, from the peaceful tranquillity of these four narrow walls where we have so long lived together in trustful communion. The wide world is rough with crags and tempestuous with storms; if it should not fare with thee as we desire, bear thy destiny with patience, and should any censure thee unmercifully, counsel them rather to bend their powers to do better; so will thy path, although not thornless, yet lead thee to thy goal.

F. A. Noer.

Noer, 24 *May* 1880.

NOTE.

The first volume of Akbar was published by the Count in two Parts. The following note was prefixed to the second Part, which begins with the chapter entitled Akbar and the Hindus, Chítor.

To the Reader.

I issue herewith the second Part, which completes the first volume. It embraces the most important part of Akbar's reign. The description of external events has been carried down by it to about the twenty-fifth year of his rule, but the representation of the internal development of Hindustan in politics and civilisation could not be broken off at this period, as the causes of coming events can only be comprehended when a complete view has been taken of them.

The knowledge of the sources has deepened with the progress of the work, and the result has been that in this part the masterly accounts of Abul Fazl have assumed the first place in place of those of Nizamuddin Ahmad. One reason, among others, for this change, is the want of a trustworthy chronology in the Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí.

Especial pains have been taken to winnow the superabundant material, and to arrange it in a series of pictures, and yet without destroying the unity of the whole.

Herr Bruno Schoenlank has been my faithful co-operator in this part.

The second volume will appear, I hope, within about a year, and then the work will be completed.

"Mais il faut cultiver notre jardin."

F. A. VON NOER.

Noer, 21 *January* 1881.

THE

EMPEROR AKBAR:

AN ESSAY IN THE HISTORY OF INDIA

IN THE 16th CENTURY.

SECTION I.—General Introduction.

CHAPTER I.

CONFIGURATION AND DIVISIONS.

In the present work the term India is to be taken as denoting only the peninsula of Hindústán which, advancing into the ocean on the south, is bounded on the north by the Himálayas, and by the Brahmaputra and the Indus on the east and west respectively. This territory, which extends from Kashmír to Cape Comorin (Kumárí) and from Karáchi to Chittagong, contains in round numbers 1,500,000 square miles and is therefore equal in area to the half of a Europe diminished by the Scandinavian peninsula and the European islands. It is divided into two principal tracts, the northern of which is usually designated Hindústán and the southern the Dak'hin. To demarcate these, at least approximately, a line may be drawn on the map from the

Gulf of Kambay eastward, along the windings of the Narbadah and the chain of the Vindhyas to somewhere about Katak in Orísá. Only the northern portion of the Dak'hin will come under our consideration, but, on the other hand, we shall have to include in Hindústán some of those borderlands to the north-west which in the 16th century formed part of the Indian Empire. Any summary of the natural features of India is rendered difficult by its enormous extent and consequent diversity, for almost each division has its special characteristic. Contrasted with the Highlands of Asia which gird it on the west and north, India might be described as a lowland, cut off for isolated existence by the Himálayas, the Hindúkush and the lesser ranges of Sulaimán and Hála. It falls naturally into three divisions, *viz.*, the Indus basin, the tracts of the Ganges and lower Brahmaputra and the plateau of Central India. The last lies partly between the first and second and stretches thence southwards as far as the Nílgiris. As all are contiguous and lie in part under the same latitude, these divisions have much in common; each, however, bears its special mark. The diversities between the great river tracts are the more striking from their common plan and purpose. The Indus like the Ganges and her brother-stream,* the Brahmapútra, is a river of the first magnitude; the sources of the three lie relatively near together in the savage defiles of the northern mountains, by whose eternal snows all are alike nourished. Indus and Ganges alike water wide territories; both have affluents as considerable as the Rhine and the

* Because they are physically inseparable and are united in their delta by numerous channels.

Danube and both, though far apart, fall into the ocean under almost the same latitude. Deprived of their lavish bounty, the richest and most important parts of India would be barren wastes. Here, however, their similarities end.

Although the volume of the Indus, measured in the dry season at Tattah,* is four times as great as that of the Ganges, measured under similar conditions at Rájmahall, its influence upon the lands lying along its course is relatively far less. This is due to the greater directness of its course and to its being less prone to overflow, owing to its steeper banks. Its basin is, for the most part, sandy and stony and its middle and lower course lies across vast deserts. Owing to its being less exposed to the action of the *monsun* and having therefore a smaller rainfall, this lower basin is either absolutely sterile or has sparse vegetation, while arid heat alternates with a sharper cold.

It is quite otherwise with the Ganges, in at least the eastern half of its course below Alláhábád and its junction with the Jamnah, where it flows in wider and more frequent flexure and spreads its flood waters, sealike, on either hand. Its volume at Rájmahall increases during the rains to half-a-million of cubic feet per second † and the light and teeming soil absorbs, in addition to the heavy local rainfall, the whole of the river's overflow. Here vie downpour, flood and evaporation and, in contrast to that of the

* Carl Ritter, Erdkunde, &c. 2nd Ed. Berlin, 1837, Vol. VII, 190, *et seq.* This statement, like others for which Ritter is Count v. Noer's authority, is manifestly not in accordance with more modern observations. (Trs.)

† Ritter l. c. Vol. VII, 191. (Searle. 1,500,000 c. f. per second. Trs.)

Indus, the Ganges valley may be described, in the words of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian, as hot and steamy.

These two vast river valleys which diverge, in ever widening fork, as they trend southwards, are united in about 30° N. L. by a surface depression which runs west and east from the middle Sutlej to the upper Jamnah. This depression completes a somewhat arbitrary arc or sickle of continuous lowland which starts from the mouth of the Indus, curves upwards to Dihlí, and thence down to the mouths of the Ganges and Brahmaputra. Within this arc the plateau of Central India thrusts itself into Hindústán from the Dak'hin. Towards the Ganges its fall is gradual, but it descends more rapidly towards the Indus in the steep escarpment of the Arávalís. In contradistinction from the two mighty fluvial depressions which border it, this elevated tract forms our third division of Hindústán.

A parallel drawn somewhere about 21° N. L., from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Narbadah and prolonged thence to that of the Indus, will, without material error, serve both as the chord of the arc above described and as an imaginary frontier between Hindústán and the Dak'hin. Although all India is lowland in contrast with the highlands of Asia, this plateau—an island in an ocean of depression—must not be overlooked. It has no great absolute elevation but is important by its extent and character. Its form suggests a figure between a trapezium and a rhombus ; its area is some 36,000 geographical square miles ; its average height varies from 2,000 to 5,000 ft. It is far from level and uniform ; countless hills

and mountains rise upon it, some attaining a height of several thousand feet, and it is furrowed and cleft by valleys, defiles and ravines. On it numerous rivers have their source, most of which flow to the eastern and western coasts, but some, as the Chambal and the Són, to the basin of the Ganges. As in the northern part of the plateau the steepest fall is towards the west, so too it is the western face of the Ghâts which descends most rapidly. On this face the plateau is separated from the sea by a narrow strip of lowland and a similar but broader band lies along the eastern, the Coromandel coast.

The plan by which we decomposed Hindústán into three parts, divides the Dak'hin into two, *viz.*, the highlands of Central India with its ranges, most of which run southward, and the lowland which encircles the tableland.

Speaking generally, India must be described as hot; the many variations of climate which result from position should however not be passed over, it being self-apparent that uniformity is impossible in a country of such varied surface and which extends through 30 degrees of latitude. Its larger portion lies within the tropics, but in the north the influences of the temperate zone make themselves felt. In the giant Himálayas which frequently exceed 20,000 ft. in height, the highlands of Asia are pushed forward as far as to 28° N. L. Hence there may be reckoned to India an extensive region which is populated and cultivated at an elevation of some 3,000 to 6,000 feet. India therefore can exhibit both in animate and inanimate nature the most vividly contrasted phenomena and the varied products of the tropics and the poles.

There are three Indian seasons—the cold or rather cool from November to February, the hot from March to about the middle of June and the rainy from that time till towards the end of October. It is well-known that a tropical climate is the most equable. Hindústán consequently experiences greater variations of temperature than the Dak'hin where there is almost constant uniformity. In Hindústán the hot season is frequently hotter and more oppressive and the cold appreciably cooler than in the Dak'hin where vicinity to the sea and elevation of surface conduce essentially to coolness and refreshment. Western Hindústán, that is the Indus Valley with the desert tracts adjacent and the country almost as far as to the meridian of Alláhábád, may be described as arid, while further east humidity increases and consequently, fruitfulness.

The two trade winds are of decisive significance among Indian climatic conditions; evidence of this is afforded by the Arabic word by which they are known, *monsun* (mausim), *i.e.*, season.* Both open with heavy thunder-storms and furious downpour, but each comes from an opposite quarter. The s.-w. *monsun* prevails from May to September and is accompanied throughout by rain; the n.-e. *monsun* blows from October to January and brings rain only during the first six weeks or two months of its course, continuing as a dry wind until in February it dies away. The s.-w. *monsun* breaks on the coast of Malabar and makes itself felt inland, in degree varying with the elevation of the country. The n.-e. *monsun* affects

* Lassen. Ind. Alterthumskunde. Bonn, 1847. Vol. I, 211. Note.

chiefly the country adjacent to the Bay of Bengal and the valleys of the Ganges and Brahmaputra. When the terrible storms which usher in a *monsun* are past and the quickening rain showers down its blessings, nature, as in the spring of temperate regions, awakens to new life. Everything germinates, sprouts and grows with equal rapidity, fecundity and luxuriance and continues to develop during the cool season. With returning heats and dryness, vegetation shrivels, withers and dies off—the green becomes brown and fades—and vigorous life gives place to lifeless desolation. As the force of the sun's rays and of the dust-laden winds increases, these absorb the fructifying moisture ; brooks and tanks dry up and even the mightiest rivers flow in diminished volume and between naked sand banks. Man and beast suffer and, like the withered plants, feel lifeless, weary, and oppressed. This lasts till a new *monsun* brings fresh vitality and leads back the cycle of the year. Looking at the mutual action of climate and surface, one may say that the lowland of mid-Hindústán is the copious granary of India, the mainland of Gujrát its western, and Bengal its eastern garden ; while the southern coast-reaches, together with many of the adjacent inland valleys, may pass for its spicery.*

That geographical divisions depend not merely on natural position and features, but are essentially conditioned by the events and course of history, is clearly shown by the almost unexampled variety in the use of the word Hindústán. Too frequently it has been misapplied, and has borne different meanings, according to time, circumstance and opinion.

* Kaeuffer. Geschichte von Ostasien. Leipzig, 1858. Vol. I, 219.

Its literal meaning is *place* or *settlement of the Hindús*, but it now, as aforetime, denotes in the East, all India east of the Indus. In the native mouth this wide meaning undergoes some limitation and the name of Hindústán is given only to so much of the territory north of the Narbadah as belonged to the Dihlí Empire at the date of its greatest extension. If however, the word is used in its narrower and accurate sense, only those tracts are to be understood which are included within the following limits: W. & N.-W., the Indus and Sutlej; N. a line drawn from Lúdhiánah to Hardwár; N.-E. another passing along the Ganges to the mouth of the Són; S. E. a line drawn along the course of the Són and prolonged to cut the upper course of the Narbadah, to the west of Garha Katangah near Jabalpúr; S. the Narbadah and S. W. a line drawn through Gujrát and Sindh, *i.e.*, from the northern point of the Gulf of Kambay (Kambháyat) over Mount Abú to Bhakkar on the Indus. This tract is almost conterminous with that to which Aryan Indians gave the name of Madhyadesh, *i.e.*, the Middle Land.* Even when thus limited, Hindústán covers no inconsiderable area and, extending as it does over high and low ground, offers in its landscape great variety and contrast. Its western portion consists of a sandy desert impregnated with saltpetre and, in parts, as inhospitable as the Sahara. This stretches from the left bank of the Sutlej almost to the Gulf of Kachh (Cutch). It is the hottest and least fertile part of India; its desolation is rarely broken by scattered places of habitation, near to which the grudging earth yields to the toil of the

* Lassen, I. c. i., 92.

cultivator a scanty and uncertain harvest. A vexatious scarcity of other water is insufficiently remedied from extraordinarily deep wells which even under favourable circumstances rarely supply more than a tepid and brackish flow and often dry up. In this desert, scorching winds prevail, parching everything and whirling the fine dust upwards in such masses and to such a height that at times the sunlight is darkened as by a London fog. Nature has set a bound to this comfortless region in the Arávalí Mountains. To the east of this natural wall lie the states of Mewát, Bundelkhand, Mewár and Malwah which are hilly, in part wooded and fertile and, though not possessing great rivers, not deficient in water. They are rough and impracticable but not inhospitable, and are well-fitted to nourish a vigorous and martial people and to enable it to oppose pertinacious resistance in defence of its liberties. In the 16th century there were located here the leading Rájpút clans, those sons of India who have most loved valour and freedom. In the Hindí epic annals preserved by Rájpút historians, these states were grouped under the common name of Rájástán or Rájwárá, and they are now, under the British rule, known as Rájpútáná—all names derived from their Rájpút settlers. By Moslim historians, on the other hand, they have usually been designated Malwah—a practice which has caused confusion, because this name strictly belongs only to the tract of country immediately north of the Vindhyas and comprising Ujjain, Bhopál and Haráoti and extending as far as Chítor. Malwah proper is for the most part a plain of black and fertile earth, which produces the best opium, and which is in Hindí known as *mala*, a word from which Tod, but incorrectly, would

derive the name Malwah.* Disregarding this natural demarcation, Muhammadans group under the name Malwah, all the territory between the Jamnah and the Narbadah on one hand and from 75° to 76° E. L. on the other. As however this application of the name is rather political than geographical, it has varied with circumstances.

The parts of Hindústán remaining for mention are the Doáb, a tract lying north of Malwah and between the Ganges and Jamnah: Rohilkhand which skirts the Doáb on the north, and, to the west of this, the plain which spreads from the ancient bed of the Saraswatí, girdles Dihlí, crosses Sirhind and, stretching to the Sutlej, follows the left bank of that river as far as the Indian desert. Turning north-west from these midlands and crossing the Sutlej, the Panjáb is reached, an irregular triangle formed by the Indus, the Sutlej, and the Sub-Himálayan ranges. In the scanty flora of the Panjáb there are certainly none of the 42 palms† of more southern regions, but its harvest is the richer in the grains and grasses of more temperate skies. The wide and fruitful plains are abundantly watered by the overflow of the five great rivers to which the Panjáb owes at once its fertility and its name. In the 16th century its inhabitants were for the most part either Játs, a vigorous and here agricultural people, or Gujars, a nomadic and pastoral tribe. There could hardly have been question in those days of the Sikhs who in later times became so celebrated and who were mostly derived from the Játs. It is worth mention

* Lassen, l. c. I, 115.

† Käeuffer, l. c. I, 222.

that according to the testimony of Bábar, the rhinoceros* was in his day sufficiently common to form an essential factor of royal sport. From this it may be inferred that there then existed in the Panjáb dense and large forests. The Panjáb is hilly in parts and seamed by rocky defiles, but it is traversed by one mountain chain only, the Salt Range of Kálabágh, which runs east and west between the Indus and the Jhilám. Of this range the slopes are precipitous; it is cleft by numerous ravines and nowhere attains any considerable height. Like the Sub-Himálayan ranges to the north and north-east, it was the dwelling place and retreat of the small but audacious robber tribe of the Gakk'hars who have always found work for those with whom they came in contact, whether fellow inhabitants of India or foreign invaders, and who maintained, under their own princes, a sort of independence through many a sharp struggle with numerically stronger neighbours.

Between the débouchements of the Indus and the Ganges into the plains, the lower slopes of the mountains were, as they still are, mainly occupied by Dogars, Kashmíris, and Gurkhas.

By following the Indus from the point where it receives the combined stream of its five great affluents, through Multán, to a point near the island fort of Bhakkar and at no great distance from the ruins of the ancient city of Alor, the province of Sindh is reached which thence spreads south along the Indus

* Erskine and Leyden. Memoirs of Bábar. Lond. 1826. IV, 292, 293, 316. Qásim Firishtah. History of the Rise of the Muhammadan power in India. Trs. by Briggs. Lond. 1829. II, 41.

and across its delta to the sea. Sindh was, as now, in the 16th century inhabited by Játs and had early much to suffer at the hands of Arab invaders. It is flat, partly fertile, partly sterile and, although traversed by the Indus, is exposed to drought and intense heat. East of the Indus delta the desert is separated from the fever-stricken peninsula of Kachh—in which none need crave a lengthened sojourn—by the salt marsh of the Rann.

South-east of Kachh and the gulf of the same name lies Gujrát, a province always of historical prominence and important from its proverbial fertility and from a situation favouring sea-borne trade. It consists of the wooded and hilly peninsula of Káth'iwár with the contiguous mainland as far as Mount Abú. To the south it partly borders on Khándesh: in the 16th century its frontier had been pushed south along the coast to Súrat, at the mouth of the Taptí. Although Khándesh belonged to the Dak'hin and will, like Kashmír, be treated of more in detail later on, it may be here remarked that, though of small extent, it acquired political importance from its position and enjoyed independence and prosperity under Muhammadan kings, who dealt out equal justice and clemency to a mixed Hindú and Moslim population.

In the same manner as Khándesh projects into Barár, like a wedge with its base on the sea, and thus inserts itself between Central India and the northern kingdoms of the Dak'hin, so does Gondwánah from the east. In old times Gondwánah was much larger than now and it extended with very undefined frontier from the boundary already fixed as the S. E. limit of Malwah

and the vicinity of the modern Jabalpúr southwards until it abutted on Golconda and eastwards to Oṛísá, by which it is separated from the Bay of Bengal. It contains the head-waters of the Narbadah, the Taptí and the Mahánadí. It is a well-watered and wooded but impracticable hill-country, the home of dusky and uncivilized Gonds; it was in all probability desolated from time to time by Musalman marauders, but remained practically independent until the 17th century. In the preceding century there were in it few towns and, for this reason, the more wild elephants and tigers. North of Gondwánah lies Bihár, a partially hilly tract and one which forms a rough quadrilateral between Malwah, a line running parallel to and a little north of the Ganges, Bengal and Gondwánah. Bihár is divided from Bengal by a range of hills which runs S.-E. from Síkrígalí above Rájmahall, towards the Ganges. The whole country lying to the east of these may be called Bengal, as Bengal was from the 14th to the 16th century, that is, the country on both sides the Ganges to the mountains of Ava and from the Himálayas to the sea near Kaṭak in Oṛísá; *i.e.* from 85° to 95° E. L. Between the Ganges and its tributary, the Ghágrá, two districts stretch north-west to Barelí in Rohilkhand, *viz.* Jodhpúr on the south and Audh on the north: fruitful tracts of the bounteous Ganges, rich in wood, water and the products of the earth; lands which subserve the prosperity of their peoples and were consequently fitted for seats of ancient culture, but which, for the same cause, have been the frequent prize for which foreign conquerors have striven. With these closes the ring of Hindústán (in the narrower sense of the

name) and with them closes too the list of countries included within the empire of Akbar during more than the initial half of his reign.

Although no longer belonging to Hindústán even in the most extended sense of the name, mention should here be made of the western border lands, of which the frontier mountains, Sulaimán and Hála, dominate the plains of the Indus.* This mention is due, not only because these lands were formerly politically bound up with Hindústán, but also because they have so often served as the starting point for invasion of India.

The ranges abovementioned would prove a sure barrier against foreign incursion into India, if they were not pierced by two passes which seem designed for entrance gates. Whoever had overcome the brave, if perfidious and marauding mountaineers whether Afgháns or Beluchís, was withheld by no obstacle from trying his fortune in the lands across the Indus; let him have penetrated by the Bolan from Harát and Qandahár or from the Khaibar by Balkh, Bániyán and Kábul.

Many as are its diversities, India suggests a single image. True that, in the park-like meads of Gujrát and the charming pastures of Khándesh and the lower Narbadah, nature has pleased herself by idyllic creation, but, this notwithstanding, the main features of her Indian plan are epic, for in it she has laid out a magnificent theatre for mighty deeds.

* Lassen has pointed out and justly maintained that the Indus should not be regarded as a frontier river, but rather as the natural possession of the one people who inhabit its banks. (l. c., I, 32.) Notwithstanding this, in more modern times it has frequently been regarded by Muhammadan rulers as a political boundary and it was, from ancient time, considered by the Hindú as the limit of their dwelling-place, since they have manifested the same reluctance to cross it as to cross the ocean.

CHAPTER II.

RACES AND TONGUES.

INDIA, by her conformation, would seem especially fitted to fill an isolated place in history, but she has nevertheless been subjected to frequent and convulsing vicissitudes from without, through which she has however, retained many of her primitive characteristics. With the fruitful and alluring episodes of her early story we have not now to do, but only with her peoples and their condition in the 16th century.

The older indigenes of India are endlessly diversified; they speak a multitude of tongues and their colour varies through all the shades from dusky blackish brown to clearest, golden olive. Colour and speech are, in fact, the distinguishing marks of birth and early location among the present dwellers in India, and any variations in these which may have occurred since the 16th century being inappreciable by us, are necessarily left out of consideration. The importance anciently attached to complexion is shewn by the fact that the Sanskrit word for caste (*varna*) signifies colour.* It is moreover noteworthy that the darkening of the originally fair-skinned Caucasian Aryans† depends less on their location with reference to the equator than upon the degree of their admixture with the almost black-skinned aborigines; their tint deepening not so much from north to south as from west to east. Even if this fact were not

* Lassen, l. c. I, 408.

† Vincent (L'homme, etc.: 3rd ed., Paris, 1836, I., 235) considers them a special race.

completely in harmony with tradition, it would in itself afford evidence that the light-complexioned immigrants entered from the west. In like manner the configuration of the country supplies natural evidence of the march and distribution of the peoples who for thousands of years followed one another into India. The Aryans appear to have been the first foreigners who penetrated beyond the Indus. They moved along this river towards the south, then turned eastwards across the great surface depression into the valleys of the Jamna and the Ganges. Developing early as one of the chief of civilized peoples, they pressed on, partly subjugating and more or less completely enslaving the dusky aborigines and partly driving them north and south, from their own path, into the less accessible regions of the Himalayas and Vindhyas. They seized also upon the more level tracts of the Dak'hin and forced the Dravidian tribes towards the extremity of the peninsula. Hence it is that, even at the present day, isolated groups of Bhíls, Kóls, Gonds, Santhals, &c., are found in the hills of the central plateau, enisled in a sea of Aryans. Generally speaking, these aboriginal refugees have preserved their idiosyncrasies unmodified while, on the other hand Súdras and Pariahs* have in course of time lost their original characteristics, with the exception of their dark colour, by enforced accommodation to the speech, manners and habits of their masters.

The languages of India fall naturally into two distinct groups: the Aryan and the Non-Aryan. Of the latter, which are spoken solely by survivors of the

* *Vide* Section I, Chapter 3.

primitive inhabitants, many have been arrested at a far lower stage of development than others and possess no literature. The full enumeration of the non-Aryan tongues would lead us too far, since, according to the most recent researches, they comprise 19 separate families which, in turn, are broken up into sub-divisions and dialects.* The principal are Tamil, Telugu, Malayálam and Kanarese. Of Aryan languages, the most important in direct descent from the mother-tongues of the race, Sanskrit and Prákrit, are the Hindí or Hinduí of Central India, the Bengalí, the Uríyá of Oṛísá, the Maráthí of the north-west Dak'hin, Gujrátí, Sindhí, the Panjábí and the Dógrí of Northern India and Kashmírí. Wherever, in the above list the locality of these languages has not been indicated, they are, with immaterial exceptions, distributed over the countries of which they bear the names. All, according to their position or the tongues on which they border, are broken up into a number of dialects which are almost all, in their turn, subdivided.†

To the Aryans, as presumably the oldest immigrants, succeeded at various times numerous other wanderers, but down to the initiation of the Mughul invasions all succumbed to the influence of their predecessors and whatever their origin, became merged in the Aryan Hindús. The Muhammadans however were too alien in faith and character for their amalgamation with the earlier settlers to have been possible, except in cases where these had previously become converts to Islám.

* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. New Series, 1877. Vol. X, Part I, p. 1. On the non-Aryan Languages of India; by Brandreth.

† Outlines of Indian Philology. J. Beames. Lond., 1868.

With the earliest diffusion of the doctrines of the Prophet, isolated bands of his Arab followers had made their way from Makkah to Sindh across the lower course of the Indus, but their influence was transitory and without important result. It is with Mahmúd of Ghazní, the mighty Túrkish Sulṭán who in his twelve famous expeditions plundered and subjugated the remotest parts of India, that the series opens of those Moslim conquerors who, following one another with varying fortune down to the 16th century, were to subdue India and establish there a lasting dominion. Subsequent to Mahmúd all invaders had to vanquish not only the indigenes, but also their own Muhammadan predecessors whom they either exterminated or, after defeat, assimilated. For this reason the India of the 16th century exhibits a motley and even bewildering pell-mell of races and tribes. Among the mercenaries of the conquerors were enrolled Arabs and Persians; then, in greatly preponderant numbers, Afgháns whose vernacular name of Pashtán was converted by Indian mouths into Pathán; next and also of Afghán race, Khiljís and Hazárás; and lastly, the men of a mixed tribe of Mongols and Túrks who according to their lineage were known as Chaġátáïs or as Uzbaks. Side by side with the militant invaders came a few pacific strangers; the Gabr or Pársís whom the spread of Muhammadanism had driven from their Iránian home; then Syrian and Armenian Christians, a few Jews; and finally a considerable number of Portuguese.

The explanation of the diversity of races in India is best found by noting the frequent changes in the dynasties which have ruled at Dihlí. Upon the Túr-

kish house of Ghazní followed the Afghán house of Ghor, the Túrkish slave-kings (so-called from their lowly origin), the Afghán Khiljís and the Indo-Túrkí family of Taghlaq. During the period of these successive dynastic changes, the country suffered from the repeated incursions of migratory Mongols. At the end of the 14th century Tamerlane, or correctly Timur, a Chagátáï, overthrew the then representative of the Taghlaqs and gave over the imperial city to the plunder of his troops who were rendered not the less avid of booty by community of faith with the vanquished. After a generation of lawless confusion and anarchy following on Timur's invasion, the Dihlí throne was successively occupied by the Sayyids of Arabian extraction and the Afghán Lodís, until the time when Bábar, the Timurid, conquered India and there planted the tribe of the Chagátáï Mongols.

The languages imported into India were as diverse as the peoples who brought them. Although it is true that they did not become generally current, they undoubtedly exercised an appreciable influence on subsequent Indian civilization and, in particular, upon its literature. They included Arabic, the language of the Qorán and of learned Muhammadans; Persian, that of the court, the administration and of educated men in general; Pashtú, that of the Afgháns; and finally the speech of the most recent conquerors, the Túrkí-Chagátáï which contained no inconsiderable element of Mongolian. These various tongues were gradually interpenetrated by the Hindí of mid-India and, subsequent to the 12th century, there sprang from the admixture Hindústání which, since Timur's invasion, has still further developed as Urdú, *i.e.* the

language of the court and the camp. As the *lingua-franca* circulated round the Mediterranean littoral, so Urdú became the cosmopolitan tongue of India and it has proved capable of producing a far from insignificant literature.

Thus India which through long ages had rarely been troubled by the world beyond its borders, became through half a chiliad the battle-field of foreign peoples and of foreign tongues. They spread over its plains in strata, on or near each other, like the layers of the débris which each year, the Ganges and the Indus bear down to the ocean coasts from the passes and ravines of the Himálayas.

CHAPTER III.

Religion and Philosophy in the 16th Century.

Having in the preceding chapter reviewed the Indian peoples of the 16th century, it will be useful to glance rapidly at their intellectual life and, above all, at their religion and their philosophy. These bear the impress of the reciprocal action of Muhammadanism and Hindúism which had already extended over a half-millenium. The other forms of faith which existed in India, although not unimportant, were of less historical significance. Amongst them was that of the Jains. Their origin has never been clearly established,* but it may safely be assumed,† that their creed was a variation and survival of that Buddhism which the recrescent might of Brah-

* Colebrooke's Essays. Lond. 1837. I, 378 *et seq.*: and II, 191 *et seq.*
† Lassen l. c. IV, 763 *et seq.*

manism had extirpated,* and that they had escaped destruction only by reason of their unobtrusive and placable disposition. They are scattered in small communities throughout India, but their principal seats have been for many centuries on Mount Abú in Sirohí, at Satranjya in Gujrát, and at Sravana Belgóla in Maisúr. Another creed domiciled in India, was that of the Gabr or Pársís. The majority of its professors were settled on the west coast, especially in Gujrát, and thither they had brought the sacred fire and a portion of their scriptures containing the time-honoured doctrines of Zoroaster. As they were at once lovers of peace and excellent traders, they, like the Jains, were able to hold fast to their hereditary faith.† Notwithstanding their paucity and political insignificance, their opinions exercised considerable influence on the great minds of India towards the close of the 16th century. It remains to mention a few Jews, settled chiefly on the coasts, some Syrian and Armenian Christians; and, lastly, the Portuguese who had already founded Goa and taken possession of several other harbours.

One of the chief distinguishing marks of Hindúism was the self-segregation of the ancient Aryans into castes—an arrangement made after they had

* Although Buddhism was an important factor in the development of Indian religion and philosophy, its discussion finds no place here because Abul Fazl states (Ayeen Akbari. Trs. by Gladwin. Cal. 1786. II, 158.) that in Akbar's time, its last adherents had disappeared from India, with the exception of a few old men on whom he lighted in Kashmír. Köppen has, in a masterly manner, set forth its doctrines and history in "Die Religion des Buddha." Vol. II, Berlin, 1857 and 1859.

† Some Pársís had settled in the Upper Indus districts and were there annihilated by Timur's hordes.

established themselves as a civilized people in northern India, from the Indus to the Ganges. A three-fold motive lay at the root of their caste classification—race, creed and political circumstance—which not only created the system but shaped and furthered its development. The lowest caste consisted of *súdrás* who were the descendants of such aborigines as had submitted to the Aryans without prolonged resistance; the class next above in rank was formed by the *vaiśyas* who subsisted by agriculture and trading; the second, the *kshatriya*, was composed of soldiers and nobles and the first was that of the *bráhmans*. Side by side with these four primary castes, lived the great body of vanquished *paraiyan* (pariahs), who were rejected and regarded as unclean by the privileged classes and were the descendants of aborigines who had opposed resolute resistance to the Aryan invaders.

The *vaiśyas* were the very marrow of their race and must also have been greatly preponderant in number. From them the *kshatriyas* and *bráhmans* separated themselves. To the former, who survive as *khatrís*, had been assigned the principal part in the reduction of India, but when this task was accomplished, their martial spirit waned. The Rájpúts, on the contrary, who sundered themselves from them, have preserved their ancient bravery. The *bráhmans* owe their eminent position and permanent influence to the office allotted to them of *purohita* or house-priest. Religion not only struck deep root in the pious and ceremonial disposition of the Aryans, but its practice came to be considered a sacred duty. A sacrifice, offered with due rites, had not only the advantage of propitiating the gods, but likewise pro-

cured that of placing them under the obligation of listening to the prayers and fulfilling the desires of the suppliant. By degrees a system of rules and ceremonies was framed so complicated that only the initiated priesthood was competent to observe its injunctions. The plain and simple faith of the heart was thus elevated, as theology, into a science and as such, ceasing to be common property, became the peculiar of the privileged few. As transmitters and exponents of the Scriptures, the *bráhmans* were also the vehicles of knowledge. They knew well how to use the advantages of such a position and, although not without protest and opposition from their congeners, they elected themselves referees in matters spiritual and temporal. On this basis arose a priesthood which enlarged and strengthened the more rapidly that it was planned and organized with singularly shrewd calculation. With well-apprized reference to the idiosyncracies of their race, the *bráhmans* so arranged matters that they were able to promulgate betimes two creeds: one, exoteric for the unthinking multitude; the other, esoteric and allowing for the intellectual requirements of educated men. In this duality were rooted the force and permanence of Bráhmanism, inasmuch as it at once encouraged the crowd to worship sensible objects and permitted those whom mere ceremonial oblations and prayer did not content, to procure repose of mind according to their bias, by inner contemplation, asceticism or abstract speculation—provided always that they showed customary reverence and outward subordination to the *bráhmans*. Under the repression of this external compulsion, an educated Hindú was the more impelled to use his

The conditions of Muhammadanism were entirely different from those of Hindúism; notwithstanding which, there were not wanting between the creeds points of sympathy and concord. Islám had neither caste nor priesthood, the faithful having equal rights without distinction of rank or race. But so much the more wonderful appears the power of its doctrine which, by the bond of the Qorán alone, animated with one faith and inspired for one idea adherents the most dissimilar in birth and nationality. The absence of caste favoured the degeneracy of zeal for the faith into a proselytizing mania and fanaticism, while amongst Hindús, the position of each was determined unalterably from and by his birth. Strong as was the constraining power of the Qorán, it was not potent to exclude schism. As Hindús had their *jógís* and *gosains*, Muhammadans had their *dervéshes* and *fuqírs*, who in many points rivalled the Hindú ascetics in perverted whimsicality. Unlike Hindúism, Muhammadanism nourished no original philosophic system; moreover, when freedom of inquiry was stimulated in it by the doctrines of Aristotle and the New Platonists, this was, after a relatively brief vigour, repressed by Súnní orthodoxy. Of more lasting permanence was Çúfism, a development of opinion which followed the introduction of Muhammadanism into Persia and to which those fled for refuge who could not extract consolation from rigid literalism and ceremonial. It owes its birth to the influence of Buddhism but, in contradistinction to this creed, exhibits pantheistic characteristics and is consequently comparable with Vedántism.

Muhammadan sects are less numerous than those

of Hindúism and, being strictly monotheistic have one common God. The Murjíyats transform the despotic deity of the Qorán into a less severe and less arbitrary ruler. The Mutazalas conceive God as a purely intellectual essence and emphasize his righteousness. Although the Khárijís, Shí'ahs and Ismá'ílyas were fundamentally rather political parties than religious sects, they find fit mention here, because they too took on a colour of religion. It is true that they were rigid fanatics but they strove after salvation by rigid abstention from sin. The Shí'ahs occupied in relation to the Súnnís the position of free-thinkers and moreover held the descendants of 'Alí in special respect. The Ismá'ílyas were an offshoot of the Shí'ahs but even freer than these in their exposition of the Qorán and were believers in the doctrine of transmigration. There were other sects of less standing. In all the *pír* filled a position analogous to that of the *guru* among the Hindús.

From what has been said, it will be seen that there are in Hindúism and Muhammadanism many points at which approach or possibly union might have been effected, if the adherents of both creeds had not regarded the exclusion of the heterodox as a duty.

In spite of this bigotry, however, a proximity of location, which in Akbar's time had lasted 500 years, could not fail to allow the working of mutual influence even to creeds so repellant and so antagonistic. This reciprocal power manifests itself most clearly and most remarkably in the affairs of every-day life. Imitating the Hindús, Muhammadan parties and tribes did not hesitate to feel and to act as though they too, Súnnís and Shí'ahs, Sayyids and Shaikhs,

Pathâns and Mughuls, belonged to different castes.* In the domain of mental activity, the great majority in both denominations stood in sharp opposition ; only the minority who found no satisfaction in the formalism common to both creeds, crossed the boundary fixed by prejudice and joined forces on the field of combined research and endeavour. United by the joint bond of heresy, such could rejoice in free interchange of thought and sentiment and could supplement and hearten one another. Çúfism when transplanted to India, found in the minds of native thinkers a fruitful soil in which it spread wide and developed, for the *bráhmans* were as superior to Muhammadans in disciplined thought as the latter were to the *bráhmans* in depth of feeling and in the passion of mystical enthusiasm.

This mingling of heretical opinion called into life new sects from both mother-creeds. Of these, the Sikhs were a Hindú denomination with a tinge of Muhammadanism ; the Mahdawís, on the other hand, were an outgrowth of Islám with an admixture of Hindúism, and regarded Muhammad Mahdí as their saviour. Finally, there were added to the earlier Musalmán sects the Chiliasts, of Indian birth. In their dealing with their *pírs*, Muhammadans disclosed bráhmanical influence, for although they did not, as the Hindús their *gurus*, rank them with their deity, they frequently conferred on them divine honours.†

The reciprocal influences we have enumerated cannot claim to cover the whole ground of the topic, since

* J. D. Cunningham. History of the Sikhs. 2nd ed., Lond. 1853. p. 31.

† Garcin de Tassy. L'Islamisme. 3rd ed.: Paris. 1874. p. 338 *et seq* and 380 *et seq*.

it is hardly possible or at least, would lead us too far, to follow out the subject in detail. They will, however, suffice to give an approximate idea of the religious and philosophical conditions of India in the 16th century.

CHAPTER IV.

Political Condition of India in the 16th Century.

In the preceding chapter we have dealt with antagonisms in the more intellectual fields of faith and philosophy, in this it is our task to indicate the forces which operated on the stage of politics and every-day life.

As with all other oriental peoples so with the Hindús, no hard and fast line can be drawn between things spiritual and things temporal, because both are inextricably interwoven into codes of law and actual practice. In the life of the individual this is shown by the fact, already mentioned, that the major part of his existence is squandered in the enforced observance of ceremonial customs and caste injunctions. The same compulsion marks out the unalterable course of his life. It is written in Hindú law that a man's highest duty is to beget a son, and this for the reason that his soul can find no rest if his son have not duly offered the funeral sacrifice, the *srádddha*. This ceremony being of supreme moment, the greatest importance attaches to the establishment, maintenance and propagation of the family, the veritable foundation-stone of Hindú social existence. A Hindú family bears the stamp of the same intention as Hindú creed

and caste: like them it aims at the maintenance of all things in the condition in which they were inherited. Upon this aim is based the custom of transmitting immoveable property under the management of the eldest son, undivided for the common usufruct of the members of the family. On the same aim, no less than upon the necessity imposed by the *srádáha* is based the custom—now become a right—of adopting a son in case of failure of male offspring. Finally, the above facts explain the circumstance that there can, among Hindús, be no question of well assured and regulated landed property, held as private possession; and why, even to the present day, the Hindú prides himself upon his designation "*bhúmiá*,"—proprietor of the soil.

A number of families living in the same vicinage composed the *gráma*, the village community which was the unit of national life. In these associations, as elsewhere, the *bráhmans* were predominant, their influence being the more perceptible that their principal opponents, the *kshatriyas*, were at best in a small minority and moreover were continually degenerating in martial spirit. The soil was tilled by *súdrás* who lived in the position of serfs and were not permitted to acquire land, possession of which was restricted to members of the first three castes; on the other hand, trade and commerce were mostly in the hands of the *raisyas*. The grazing land of each village was under the supervision of the *gaurali*, the village herdsman, and was used as common pasturage; the arable land was either held in common or partitioned. The regulation and apportionment of State dues, maintenance of order, administration of justice, adjustment

of the relations of families, training and education of children, in short all domestic concerns, were ordered by the *panchâyat*, a council of five, or at times more members; an office which was originally conferred by election but, in course of time, came to be hereditary. When to these segregating influences is added the separation of one village from another by fixed boundaries, and their fortification by walls or by hedges of impervious thorn, each may, with justice, be described as a miniature republic, possessing most of its requirements within its own borders and almost independent of the outer world. This segregation explains the tenacious attachment of the Hindú to the world of his home even when, in itself, this offers little attraction. That innate bias towards routine which has developed the right of custom to regulate every concern of a Hindú's existence, influences him to such a degree that, if he has been driven into exile, his whole effort is directed to compass a return to the abode of his fathers.

The conditions in Hindú towns were much the same as those in villages but with added diversity and more lively activity. Urban administration and the police were in the hands of persons nominated by the sovereign and entitled *adhipatí*, (headmen,) while judicial authority and the exposition of the law were the duty of the *bráhmanical* expounder of the law (*sastrí*). The petty kingdoms of the period of Hindú ascendancy were formed by the agglomeration of several villages; at the head of each such union stood the rájah or king who, like all other sovereigns, based his right to rule upon the doctrine of the "grace of God," and indeed frequently traced his

descent to his deities. He belonged to the second, the *kshatriya* caste and was the sole member who, by virtue of his office, ranked with the *bráhmans*. Compared with modern European rulers, a rájah of old times could not be described as a limited monarch but he may justly be so termed in comparison with other oriental sovereigns, because he was restricted in the exercise of arbitrary power, on one side, by the codes and, on the other, by bráhmanical influence. This latter restraint depended less upon the occupation by *bráhmans* of ministerial offices than upon their position as priests and scholars. Amongst a people such as the early Hindús, it was a matter of course that kingship should be hereditary and equally a matter of course was their attachment to the ruling house. For the accomplishment of his duty of defending his country and for the pay of his troops, the king was empowered to raise taxes, varying with circumstances from one-twelfth to one-sixth of the crop garnered or of personal profits; it was only on occasions of famine, desolating pestilence or urgent military necessities that it was legitimate to raise the rate to one-quarter. These aristocratically organized little kingdoms were for the most part independent, but it would occasionally happen that one rájah fell under the power of another. In such a case, Hindú legitimist sentiment manifested itself in all its strength; the defeated ruler was not deposed but merely required to recognize the supremacy of the great king, the Mahárájah. During the Hindú period, India must be pictured as made up of a variable number of small states, seldom, and then but temporarily, united under one sceptre. It can

be regarded as a single empire only after the Muhammadan conquests had established the imperial throne of Dihlí* and placed upon it the Padsháh of Hindústán.

The relation of the Padsháh to his subjects was analogous to that of the later Khalífas; like them he was bound to rule in accordance with tradition and the injunctions of the Qorán, otherwise he was declared unworthy of the throne, by a *fatwa* of the *'ulamás*, the exponents of the law, and his subjects were authorized to refuse him obedience. Beyond this duty, however, everything was left to his arbitrary will. By law, the sovereign office was elective but the elective right had become a mere form and each ruler nominated his successor. In a certain sense, therefore, the term "ruling dynasty" is here permissible, but there was no "consecration by the grace of God," and the kings were, after all, simply such by the force of circumstances or the will of their predecessors. They did not pause at this first abrogation of law but trod other duties under foot and let caprice or inclination regulate all questions, the *'ulamás* rarely opposing so long as their own interests were not endangered. Under conditions such as these, there could be no safety of life or property for subjects. In conformity with the majority of the codes, all land, with the exception of pious foundations, belonged to the State and was consequently surrendered to the State's representative, the king, for partition among his adherents. The right of bequest was, therefore, limited to moveable property and even this right was rescinded

* Dihlí was a capital before the Mughul period, but only of a petty kingdom.

whenever a possible pretence was afforded to the greed of the sovereign. The real circumstances of the epoch under discussion cannot be realized by perusal, in the copious legal literature of Muhammadanism, of the humane and equitable regulations concerning the duty of man to man and, in particular, of the king to his subjects—regulations hardly surpassed by the best-famed ordinances of Europe. A milder verdict will however certainly be passed upon the trespasses and injustices of Moslim despots, if one bears in mind the savage and antagonistic elements which they held together and made subservient to their purposes.

Full detail of these elements is unnecessary, but a few call for prominent mention. As in religious opinion so in politics, Súnnís and Shí'ahs stood in the sharpest opposition. The most radical change of the 16th century was effected by the Mongol-Túrkí element (Chagátáï); not, it is true, in matters of opinion for they were Súnnís and observers of the Hanafí ritual,* but in the political domain. On the one hand, their migratory disposition and habit of camp-life excited to still greater restlessness their fellow-Moslims—themselves naturally unsettled and bigoted—and thus added to the ferment of peoples; on the other, their own extraordinary license and savagery, of which evidence is given by their strict practice of retribution for blood, rendered unavoidable, not to say imperative, an almost inhuman despotism on the part of their ruler. When to these tumultuous elements, we add those of the many less important and mutually hostile races and

* The Hedája or Guide; a Commentary on the Mussulman laws, trs. by Charles Hamilton. 4.° Lond. 1791. I, 25.

sects enumerated in our last chapter, some conception may be formed of the riotous turbulence of the period. It was natural, under such circumstances, that the tribe to which the sovereign belonged should acquire preponderance and consequent opportunity of distinction. The Sayyids, as descendants of the Prophet, enjoyed in general more considerate treatment than other parties, even when they themselves did not hold the rudder of State and, on the ground of their origin, they permitted themselves unprecedented license of action. As of the tribe so of the individual, their fortune was subject to the widest vicissitudes—because, by the dictates of the Qorán and other books of law, there existed no nobility of birth and no hereditary rank, notwithstanding the subsistence of an appearance of this latter distinction. Unlike the Hindú who was fettered by the narrow bonds of caste, the Muhammadan could take fortune at the turn and, by his own impetus only, spring from the lowest to the highest round of the ladder of glory and power.

The absolutism of the ruler was shared by his subordinates and this extension of despotic action was favoured by the frequent union in one person of military and civil offices. The judge alone was ostensibly unapproachable who belonged to the *'ulamás*, the learned corporation of those skilled in law and theology. The work of the executive consisted in the apportionment and collection of taxes. The imposts levied on the faithful were nominally limited to the tithe of their income but, in practice and under pressure, were often extorted in higher ratio. When oppression reached an intolerable height, there re-

mained no other resource than to oppose force by force, and thus, gradually, the law of the strong arm obtained a certain recognition and validity while written law fell into oblivion.

The teachings of the Qorán fared no better in matters relating to the dealings of Muhammadans with unbelievers. The injunctions first promulgated on this point by the Prophet proved unworkable, even in his lifetime; *viz.* that in case of non-conversion, infidels should be exterminated. For the death penalty a poll-tax was substituted and, in addition, a ground-tax was levied when unbelievers were left in possession of their lands. This deviation from the principles of Islám illustrates the manner in which these were pushed into the back-ground by political necessities.

Muhammadanism when transplanted into Indian soil, underwent still greater modifications but it was itself not without influence upon the political and social condition of its conquest. The mere reduction of India was not so facile as might have been expected from the superiority of the Mughul light cavalry over the cumbersome Indian infantry. So far was the country from being subdued at a blow that the petty rájahs had to be conquered in detail and well-fortified villages to be carried at the point of the sword. The enervating effects of uncongenial climate increased in the course of this wearisome struggle, as the invaders moved further from the Indus and, at the same time, the difficulty of reinforcement became greater. With still more difficulty, conquered positions were maintained in a country where the proportion of victors to vanquished was somewhere

about one to five.* In these untoward circumstances the Muhammadans were obliged to content themselves with holding the few highest political and social offices and, to effect even this, important concessions to the resident inhabitants were necessary. The Hindús not only preserved freedom in the exercise of creed and ancestral custom but were, for the most part, left in possession of their land under the obligation of paying, as unbelievers, a poll-tax and, as vassals, ground-rent. The imposition and collection of State imposts were made by the *zamíndárs*, Hindús appointed by the Muhammadan government. It was

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* According to the Census of 1881, the population of British India classified as to religion, was as follows :—

Hindús	144,875,315
Muhammadans	45,127,033
Aboriginal Tribes	4,677,688
Buddhists	3,418,476
Christians	1,168,589
Sikhs	1,253,115
Jains	448,897
Satnámis	358,161
Kabírpanthús	294,474
Nat-worshippers	143,581
Pársís	73,760
Jews	9,506
Bráhmos	1,147
Kumbhipathias	692
Unspecified and others	38,463
Total ...	201,888,897

Imperial Gazetteer of India. Vol. VI, App. 5.

See Elliot's History, Folklore and Distribution of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India. Edited by J. Beames. Lond. 1869. I, 369.

In the 16th century, the Muhammadans outnumbered the indigenes only in a few districts, *e.g.* Rohilkhánd, Sambhal, Nagor, and in isolated spots in the Panjáb. In such places there were occasional intermarriages between these, elsewhere mutually exclusive peoples.

common for native princes to preserve their former status by recognizing the supremacy of the Moslims and providing troops, this last obligation being the root of the subsequent service of Rájpút mercenaries in Mughul armies. Other branches of administration were left to the Hindús, for only the highest military and judicial offices were filled by Muhammadans. As has been said, military and civil offices often coalesced and a general frequently administered the province he held. The Muhammadans were compelled to avoid dissipating their strength by settlement in the open country and preferred to mass themselves in single towns or to move about in camps. In the 16th century the greater number were grouped in Dihlí, Agrah, and Lahór which were the chief royal residencies. Camping prevailed throughout the rest of the country. With each camp travelled the various *súbahdárs* or governors and their subordinates, for the provincial administration often called for military operations, whether because the people found their obligations too heavy or because the arrogance of their rulers led them to dream of freedom. Like that of many a governor and *jagírdár*, their constantly resurgent effort after independence made the stability of the empire depend upon the capacity of the ruler. These *jagírdárs* were nobles to whom imperial favour had assigned large revenues and who became transformed from rough soldiers into pomp-loving grandees. Under a wise sovereign, the details of Government were the better organized but under an incapable weakling everything fell rapidly into confusion.

Dihlí was already the nominal capital of India, but it was not so in fact, for sometimes the Emperor ruled

over Hindústán and far into the Dak'hin while at others, his power was restricted to the district adjacent to his capital. Moreover, kingdoms subsisted within his realm which were not always ready to acknowledge his suzerainty. Such were the five Muhammadan states of the Dak'hin and those of Bengal, Bihár, Jaunpúr, Málwah, Gujrát, Khándesh, Sindh, Multán and Kashmír. With the exception of Kashmír which was first conquered by Akbar, these states, during the 500 years of Moslim invasion, were sometimes provinces which recognised the imperial supremacy and sometimes independent kingdoms under their respective ruling houses. Some, and in particular Bengal, Gujrát and the Dak'hin, maintained complete independence under their earlier rulers for a considerable period.

CHAPTER V.

THE HOUSE OF TIMUR.

Towards the end of the 12th century, the conquests of Chingiz Khán had flung together, in Central Asia, a motley and incoherent empire. Foreseeing that the maintenance of its unity was impossible, its founder arranged for its partition after his death among his four sons: of these, the second, Chagátáï Khán, received, as his share, the Túrkí tribes who, assuming his name, became known as Chagátáïs. "To him," says Erskine, "were assigned the wide extent of "desert and pasture land between the Desht-Kipchák "on the west and the original residence of the Mughul "tribes on the east, between the Tibet mountains, the "Indus and Mekrán on the south, and Siberia on the

"north; comprehending, besides the wide range of the "northern desert, the countries of Káshghar, Khoten, "and the Oighurs, as far as the desert of Gobi, Fer- "ghána and Tashkend on the Jaxartes, the whole of "Trans-Oxiana, with Badakhshán, Bálkh, Khwárazm, "Khurásán, Ghazní, Kábul and the other conquests of "Chingiz in that quarter."* It is intelligible that there should subsist, in a tract so diversified and so extensive, a corresponding diversity of peoples, both nomad and settled. To the nomads belonged the Túrks or Túrkís and the Mughuls, both numerous, warlike and, in common, lords of the land. The Chagátáïs were the issue of intermarriage between these two tribes and had for principal stems the Doghlat, the Khírás, the Konchin or Konchi, the Begchák, Tekrít, Barlás and Qáqshál. They pursued a military or a pastoral life as circumstances dictated. Associated with them, though in a far inferior position and mostly in the north of the empire, were hordes of Kirgises and Kalmuks. The settled population of the plains and towns was for the most part composed of Tajiks, a handsome people of Iranian descent. Their mother-tongue was Persian, they dwelt chiefly in the south-west, extending as far as the Oxus and supporting themselves by trade and agriculture while living in a servile relation to their conquerors.

It is probable that the immediate successors of Chingiz Khán were Buddhists. The Chagátáïs, under the rule of Barák, a great-grandson of Chagátáï Khán, were converted to Muhammadanism in † 1270 and, at some time

668 H.

* History of India under the first two sovereigns of the House of Timur, Bábar and Humáyún. Lond. 1854. Vol. I, 24, 35.

† Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte der Ilchane. Darmstadt. 1842. I, 270.

720 and 750 H. between 1322 and 1349, the same creed was introduced amongst the Kipchák tribes by a successor of Bátu.* He was called Uzbak and he was so much beloved by this section of his subjects that they assumed his name.

Shaban 736 H. The mighty Timur (Tamerlane) was born, 9th April, 1336, at Keshor Shehr-Sebz, 30 miles south of Samarqand. His family belonged to the respected Barlás clan which still boasted its Mughul extraction, although its blood was certainly alloyed with a considerable strain of Túrkí. How Timur created his world-wide empire needs no description here; it is only essential to mention that he took Chingiz Khán for his model, from whom moreover, he sought to trace descent. When, in 800 H. 1398, he had crossed the Indus, his army had to fight hard; but it was finally completely victorious and within a twelvemonth returned home, laden with Indian spoil and again, as in the days of Mahmúd, Asia was filled with the renown of the riches of India. In Samarqand and Bokhárá, Timur erected lasting and splendid memorials of his victories, built with Indian gold, partly of Indian stone and by the hands of Indian artists and workmen whom he had carried with him as prisoners of war. In eloquent and spirited language, his descendant Bábar has recorded the fascination of their beauty and magnificence.† Beyond this, Timur, when he had deposed the Dihlí sovereign,

* Bátu, son of Chingiz Khán's eldest son, Júju, was, in consequence of his father's premature death, invested by his grandfather with Júju's portion of his empire, as great Khán of Desht-Kipchák. Erskine, l. c. 26.

† Memoirs of Bábar. Trs. from the Persian by Leyden and Erskine. 4° Lond. 1826. Mémoires de Bábar. Traduits sur le texte djagatái par. A. Pavet de Courteille. Paris, 1871.

had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of Hindústán in the chief mosque of the capital, an act which served his descendant, Zahirúddín Muhammad Bábar, as a pretext on which to base "hereditary rights" to the throne of Dihlí.

Bábar was born on 14th February, 1483, in the mountain land of Ferghána, on the upper Oxus. He was, on his father's side, fifth in descent from Timur and through his mother traced back to Chingiz Khán. He became ruler of Ferghána when only eleven years of age and soon found opportunity to mix in the tangled affairs of Central Asia. Through sixteen eventful years, he played his part, unwearied and audacious, in the political revolutions of that region and contended with varying fortune against the ever-waxing power of the Uzbaks, under Sheíbáni. In 1501, he was forced to yield to his great adversary; the Chagátáïs being everywhere subjugated or annihilated and Bábar himself losing his patrimonial kingdom. He fled, accompanied by a few followers and in the depth of winter. At length he halted in a small village in the Uratippa country, to the north-east of Samarqand and here found shelter in the house of one of its headmen. The aged mother of his host told him tales of the wonders of India which she had heard from her brother, one of Timur's men. Possibly this trivial cause fixed her listener's attention on Hindústán. Bábar verified the proverb, "Fortes fortuna adjuvat." Within two years he had reduced Kábul and Qandahár and had founded there a second and stable kingdom. Fortune did him yet another service; she removed his irreconcilable enemy, Sheíbáni who fell in the

6th Muharram, 888 H.

709 H.

916 H. battle of Merv, in 1510, while fighting against Ismá'íl, king of Persia. When news of the death reached Bábar, he set out for the third time towards the north, crossed the Oxus and, in quick succession, conquered Samarqand and Bokhárá but he was again over-matched by the reunited forces of the Uzbaks and forced to return, almost a fugitive, to Kábul. This defeat decided his future ; he gave up the hope of ever regaining his native mountains of Ferghána and, so soon as he felt himself assured upon the throne of Kábul, directed his whole attention to India where affairs had taken a turn most favourable to a foreign conqueror.

The kingly power at Dihlí had been tottering to its fall ever since Timur's invasion. Under the Afghán Sikandar Lodí, Hindústán had enjoyed a wise administration but whatever progress Sikandar had made was reversed by the incapacity of his son, Ibráhím who was as unwise as he was unjust. Under his rule, Muhammadan commanders and governors comported themselves like petty independent princes, while Bengal where powerful Afghán chiefs had been settled for upwards of 300 years in virtual independence, Bihár, Málwah and Gujrát could hardly be reckoned as subject to Dihlí. In Rájpútáná, a confederacy was being formed under the Ráná of Mewar which was in itself sufficiently strong to bid defiance to the emperor of Dihlí. Bábar who had already extended his sway along the right bank of the Indus, crossed that river for the

17th Çafar, 925 H. firsttime, on 18th February, 1519, above Aṭak, in boats and on rafts and at the head of a heterogeneous following of some 2000 bold adventurers. He was however recalled by risings in his

own kingdom of Kábul and three several subsequent inroads on India were similarly interrupted. In the interim, the situation in Hindústán developed more and more in his favour; open rebellion against the feeble and detested Ibráhím broke out in several places and the great Ráná Sánká, the head of the Rájpút confederacy, leagued with Bábar—the Ráná undertaking to seize Agrah from the south while Bábar should march from the north against Dihlí.

931 H. In 1525 Bábar crossed the Indus for the fifth and last time; he led a considerable force and, partly by the sword, partly by skilful diplomacy, made himself master of the Panjáb. His army received daily augmentation by the accession of Indian Musalmans and, in April 1526,

Rajab 931 H. he stood opposed to Ibráhím and his main army, on the plain of Pánípat and there fought the battle which cost Ibráhím at once, army, throne and life.

Four days later, Bábar entered the capital and, following the example of his ancestor Timur, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, with all customary pomp, at the time of public prayer, in the great mosque of the city. Agrah, the second city of the empire, had been taken by Humáyún, Bábar's eldest son, and as the majority of Indian Muhammadans, including many powerful Afghán chiefs, acknowledged Bábar without delay, he had some show of right to the proud title of "Padsháh of Dihlí." * Rapid and auspicious as were these successes, the new sovereign

* As time went on, the kingdom, of Dihlí became popularly known as the Mughul kingdom, because all intruders from the north, of whatever race, and from the 16th century onwards, were called Mughuls.

had by no means left all dangers behind. However willing Muhammadans might be to tender him adherence, the Rájpúts saw themselves baulked by this unforeseen change in their expectations. Ráná Sánká, in allying himself with Bábar, had intended to make every occasion subservient to the establishment in power and independence of his own people, at the expense of the mutually hostile Muhammadans. In their frequent encounters with foreigners, the Rájpúts, though often victorious, had indisputably lost much of their former superiority; nevertheless, they had never been entirely deprived of freedom or privilege, at least within their present limits. The day when they were lords of India was indeed long past but men of the mould of Sánká and his high-spirited comrades could neither forget nor forego the time of their earlier supremacy. Now, when the Túrks (as the Rájpúts derisively named the Chagátáïs) had stepped into the place of the Afgháns, without any other material change in the general situation, the haughty Ráná, confiding in his own oft-proved courage and the proverbial fidelity of his fellow-Rájpúts, determined to play a last and desperate hazard by marching against this new lord of Hindústán who, from a chosen ally, had become a successful rival. A battle was fought near Khánwah, some twenty miles from Agrah, in which, after an obstinate struggle, Bábar gained a sanguinary and difficult but brilliant victory. The fight was on the plain which rises towards the heights of Síkrí and was admirable for the warlike passion and desperate valour displayed on both sides. The slaughter was terrible—the Rájpúts were inspired by the thought of their honour, their freedom and the

untarnished glory of their forefathers ; the Mughuls well knew that extermination would be the penalty of defeat. Though no victory could have been more complete, for the Rájpúts were either killed or dispersed, the proud spirit of this noblest of India's races long remained unbroken. On the day after the battle and in harmony with Mughul custom, Bábar caused the heads of his fallen adversaries to be piled into a pyramid and had himself solemnly proclaimed "*Ghází*," *i. e.* victor in a holy war.

One enemy worthy of consideration still remained unsubdued—the Afghán settlers in Bengal who had drawn their forces together with the object of placing one of themselves, a scion of the house of Lodí, upon the throne of Dihlí. To meet this danger, Bábar was compelled to defer his pursuit of Ráná Sánká. In the issue, the Afgháns were overmatched, some being disbanded by force of arms, others pacified by friendly negociation. In 1529, Bábar returned for the last time to his chosen capital of A'grah and there on 26th December, 1530, he died, honoured for his nobility of nature and admirable qualities and loved for his affectionate disposition, his knightly generosity and his faithfulness in friendship. He was not yet 50 years old * and had ruled at Dihlí barely a lustre, a period all too short, in spite of his brilliant successes, for the consolidation of power and the adjustment of the complex relations of an empire. Bábar was succeeded by the eldest of his four sons, Humáyún, on 29th December, 1530. Humáyún confirmed

935 H.

6th Jumáda I., 937 H.

9th Jumáda I., 937 H.

* *i. e.*, reckoning by the lunar years of the Muhammadans ; by solar years he lived only till nearly 48.

his brother Kámrán in the governments of Kábul and Qandahár and, moreover, allowed him to extort from his good-nature that of the Panjáb. To 'Askarí, was assigned the *jágír* of Sambhal; to Hindál, Mewát (Ulwar) and to Sulaimán Mirzá, a cousin of Humáyún, Badakhshán. The opening of the reign was marked by prosperous campaigns and brilliant deeds of arms. Humáyún penetrated victoriously into Bengal, Málwah and Gujrát but his acquisitions were lost as soon as gained. Not only did the four brothers wrangle together but they even came to open war, disregarding the wise counsel which their father had given them on his death-bed, that, come what might, they should live in friendship and hold faithfully together. Humáyún was not the man to put down such opposition with the strong hand; he yielded, as persons of his temperament often yield, to careless and unreflecting pursuit of pleasure and also to the inordinate use of opium. The consequences of a life which deadens the perceptions and destroys the intellect were not slow to follow. The Bengal Afgháns, although they had been twice vanquished both by father and son, could not forget that it was the Chagátáï foreigners who had overthrown their power. Their race had waxed strong and numerous, especially in the eastern Ganges tract, and to them, therefore, had the last offshoot of the Lodís betaken himself when deposed by Bábar. They formed the principal rallying point for Muhammadan discontent and were the outgate for unceasing conspiracy against the new rulers at Dihlí.

Threatening and disquieting as these circumstances were, Humáyún's danger could hardly have been so imminent if existing conditions had not favoured the

career of a man who cannot be denied a position among the most prominent figures of Indian history whatever the verdict passed upon his personal character. This was Sher Sháh, *jágírdár* of Saserám, in Bihár; a man in whom Bábar's quick discernment had early observed the promise of future greatness. By audacity and talent, he had made himself master of the situation in Bengal; he had set aside the several pretenders of the house of Lodí and, by discreet influences or force of arms, had brought about the necessary degree of union among his divided countrymen, to enable him to place himself at the head of a powerful confederacy unanimous in revolt against Humáyún. Startled from his visionary security, Humáyún took the field. He possessed himself of the small but important fortress of Chunár, but his van was repulsed at Garhí by a son of Sher Sháh. In obedience to his father's orders, the victor withdrew to Rhotás, a fort in south Bihár which Sher Sháh had previously obtained by strategy and in which he had secured the treasures of Gaur, the capital of Bengal. Regardless of this weighty reverse, Humáyún lapsed again into his former apathy, and encamping at Gaur shut himself during three months from the outer world and gave audience to none. This interval was employed by the Afghán leader, in acquiring Bihár, Jaunpúr and parts of Bengal and Audh: at the same time, the Emperor's brothers, Kámrán and Hindál, fomented disturbances in Agrah. At length Humáyún, for the preservation of his throne, moved westwards with troops deteriorated and diminished by the pestilential climate of Gaur. Harassed and checked in his march by Sher Sháh, he entrenched himself near Chausá. Here the Afghán lulled him with promises

until the morning of 27th June, 1539, when he fell upon his force and so utterly routed it that Humáyún escaped with difficulty and, leaving one of his wives, Hájí Begum and some 4,000 Mughul women in the hands of the conqueror, fled to Agrah where he strove but in vain, to move his brothers to combined resistance.

Çafar, 946 H.

In the following year, the Emperor again turned towards the east ; he crossed the Ganges at Kanauj and encamped over against Sher Sháh whose army meantime had been greatly strengthened. On 17th May, 1540, floods compelled him to change the position of his camp ; while this operation was in progress, Sher Sháh fell upon his troops who, dispirited by discontent and scarcity, fled after brief resistance, a small part only escaping across the river. The magnitude of the Mughul loss may be inferred from the fact that Haidar Mírzá, the historian, led some 1000 men into battle in the morning and at night had with him only a bare sixty. Humáyún saved his life but lost the throne of Dihlí. With a handful of followers, he fled to Lahór where a council of war was held but no definite resolution taken. Kámrán and 'Askarí stole off to Kábul and Ghazní, while Humáyún accepted Hindál's advice and turned his steps to Sindh, with the intention of seeking aid from its ruler, a kinsman and former vassal, Husain Arghún, for the accomplishment of a long-cherished project against Kashmír. Wisdom and ambition alike must have warned Sháh Husain that his interests would not be served by taking up a cause which was as good as lost and Humáyún therefore found no hearing for the negociations which he opened from Loharí, near

10th Muharram, 946 H.

Bhakkar. His position worsened from day to day and his adherents fell off as they saw his chance of success diminish and when even food began to fail. Humáyún was obliged to move his camp and, actuated by a report that Hindál also was meditating desertion, went to Páter, some twenty miles west of the Indus, where his brother was encamped. It was here, during an entertainment given by Hindál's mother in his honour, that the Emperor first saw Hamída Banú Begum, the beautiful young daughter of his brother's preceptor. To fall in love with her and, in spite of Hindál's opposition, to marry her was the affair of a few days, after which Humáyún carried his bride to Lohárí. This brighter interlude in misfortune produced important and fateful consequences : Hindál, in his irritation at the marriage, broke with Humáyún and went off to Qandahár, and Hamída Banú Begum who as Empress was designated *Maryam makání*, was destined to bear beneath her bosom the future destinies of India.

In order to find employment for his now visibly dwindling forces, Humáyún invested Sehwán, a town which lies half-way between Bhakkar and Tattah, on the west bank of the Indus but, at the expiration of seven months, was obliged to raise the siege because the officer whom he had left before Bhakkar did not send up reinforcements. The inimical attitude assumed by this faithless follower, on Humáyún's return to Lohárí, induced the Emperor to avail himself of overtures which the powerful ruler of Jodhpúr, Máldeo, had made to him a year before. Choosing the more convenient route which lies near the Indus and Chenáb to Uch, he arrived full of hope on the frontier of Jodhpúr. It fared here however as unsuccessfully

as it had done with him in his negociations with Husain Arghún. The wily Máldeo schemed to get him into his power and to offer him as an expiatory sacrifice to Sher Sháh, but Humáyún received timely warning of the meditated treachery, marched out hastily and drew off into the desert. The distress and hardships of this aimless march were aggravated by the hostile pursuit of the chiefs of Jodhpúr and Jesalmír; at length, after terrible fatigues and deadly peril the wearied fugitives reached Amarkóṭ.

SECTION II.—Akbar to the time of his independence.

CHAPTER I.

THE EMPEROR HUMÁYÚN, THE FATHER OF AKBAR.

WHEN, on 22nd August, 1542, one of those scorching summer days which are known only in the arid regions of hot latitudes, Humáyún, with a few fainting and dusty followers, reached the humble desert fastness of Amarkót, its lord, a petty Rajpút ráná, could not have dreamed of the fame which would one day accrue to it from an incident promising in itself so little. As he hoped to secure Humáyún's help against his hostile neighbours and, in particular, against Sháh Husain Arghún of Tattah, he gave the destitute fugitives shelter and protection of his best. In this new alliance, the Emperor found temporary respite from hardship and here he was able again to gather around him some of those adherents who had been dispersed in the flight through the desert and who, as they came in, bestowed themselves within the narrow fort or in the huts of the forlorn hamlet. The Ráná was however not in a position to maintain any considerable number of guests and therefore proposed to Humáyún a joint expedition against the ruler of Tattah who was his father's murderer and who now sought to filch his own modest patrimony. The allies took the field at the

10th Jumáda I., 949 H.

head of a heterogeneous concourse of Rájpúts, Játs and Chagátáïs.

The Empress Hamída Bánú Begum was left in Amarkóṭ under charge of her brother, Khwájah Moazem and a few trusty attendants. A few days later the news that she had given birth to a son on 15th October, 1542, overtook Humáyún* who on hearing the joyful tidings, threw himself upon the ground to thank God for the birth of an heir to his throne. Humáyún named the child Abul Fath Jaláluddín Muhammad Akbar.† When his *amírs* and commanders assembled to offer congratulations, the Emperor in default of other and customary largesse, ordered Jauhar, his ewer-bearer and secretary, to bring a pod of musk. This he broke up upon a plate of Chinese porcelain and divided among his nobles, saying as he did so: "This is all the present I "can afford to make you on the birth of my son whose "fame will, I trust, be one day expanded all over the "world as the perfume of the musk now fills this apart-"ment." The chronicler adds that at the conclusion of this ceremony, kettle drums were sounded and trumpets announced the auspicious event to the world.

5th Rajab, 949 H.

Meantime one of Humáyún's *amírs* had occupied Jún, a place lying pleasantly to the north-west of the Rann and near the eastern arm of the Indus. Here the Emperor pitched his camp and hither, a few

* Jauhar, Private Memoirs of the Mughul Emperor Humáyún. Translated from the Persian by Ch. Stewart. 4°, Lond. 1832, p. 44.

† The name originated possibly in that of his maternal grandfather whose full name, according to Erskine, l. c., II, 220, was Shaikh 'Alí Akbar Jámí.

weeks later, the Empress brought her child. Few were the days of good fortune. There now followed frequent skirmishes with the troops of Sháh Husain and also with various bands of freebooters. In one of these encounters, Humáyún's bosom-friend, Shaikh 'Alí of Shíráz was killed, a man reputed of special sanctity who was the Shaikh-ul-Islám of Tattah and who had been commissioned by the malcontents of that town to welcome the pious Emperor with gifts of fruit and perfumes at the time of his approach to the lower Indus, after his misadventure at Jodhpúr. Humáyún held him in such high esteem that, in accordance with Muhammadan custom, he had caused the first clothes of the new-born prince to be fashioned from Shaikh 'Alí's garments. To the loss of this friend were added two other disasters: Humáyún's troops sustained a defeat and his ally drew off his men into the desert. This defection was caused partly by a quarrel with the Chagátáï leaders and partly by a conviction on the part of the Ráná that nothing more was to be gained by favouring the imperial cause. In this desperate position, Humáyún again conceived the idea of forswearing the things of this world and of making a pilgrimage to Makkah, a plan which would probably have put an end for ever to the dominion of the House of Timur in India. At this crisis there arrived from Gujrát Humáyún's brave comrade and faithful adherent, Bairám Beg who had outlived many a change of fortune since their parting on the field of Kanauj. His arrival certainly delayed the proposed evacuation of Jún but it also gave a more definite shape to the plans for the future; the pilgrimage to Makkah was

deferred and an expedition to Qandahár contemplated. Bairám negotiated a peace with Husain Arghún and obtained from him transport for the march to Qandahár, Husain readily coming to terms because nothing could be more agreeable to him than the evacuation of his territory by the imperialists. Humáyún crossed the Indus and, traversing Sehwán, Gandáwa and Mastang, marched towards Qandahár for the purpose of again coming up with his brothers who had played out their last chance in that neighbourhood.

It has already been said that the three younger sons of Bábar had set their father's dying wishes at nought. This they had done even before the battle of Kanauj by repeated rebellion against Humáyún, and when he had lost his throne, they pursued their evil courses to still greater lengths. Their conduct need cause no surprise for it is merely the reflection of their age—an age in which unscrupulous rapacity, unbridled passion and brute force filled the places of fidelity, magnanimity and sense of duty and in which all were animated by the same spirit, from the Emperor down to the lowest soldier. Let his party be what it might, a man thought only of personal aggrandizement; the private soldier fought for booty only and cared little for the interests of his employer. Before a prospect of greater gain, no one hesitated to change his colours and to desert to the enemy before, during or after, a battle. Humáyún's acts sufficiently attest that he was no exception from his contemporaries. The real motive for the adherence of the Chagátáï chiefs to the Timurids was that under the leadership of the latter they hoped to secure most booty. Common advantage dictated to the Túrkí nobles

union amongst themselves in opposing the Afgháns, yet no one of them hesitated to betray and forthwith to put out of the way a fellow-countryman who might be an obstacle to his own selfish designs. Bearing facts such as these in mind, it is easy to understand that Humáyún would in his need be basely deserted by his brothers. Fortune did not favour each equally in his faithlessness; Kámrán ran the gauntlet of many adventures but at length reached Kábul, the seat of his government and there declared himself independent. He assigned to 'Askárí who had joined him, the fief of Ghazní. It has been said already that Hindál had left Páter in dudgeon for Qandahár. Here, in league with Kámrán's perfidious lieutenant, he endeavoured to set up in independence but being besieged by Kámrán, was captured and carried to Kábul,—Qandahár itself falling to 'Askárí.

Humáyún would doubtless have shared the fate of Hindál if circumstances had not at the last moment brought about another result. When the imperialists were drawing near Qandahár, some persons of the royal retinue were taken prisoners by one of Kámrán's vassals. One made his escape and from his report of the conversation of his captors, it came to be known that 'Askárí aimed at getting Humáyún into his power. In apprehension of this new danger, the Emperor retired to Mastang. Thereupon 'Askárí despatched a courier to note his movements until such time as he himself should be able to seize him. This courier was a former servant of Humáyún and now, instead of obeying 'Askárí, hastened to warn his benefactor. Resistance being impracticable, there remained nothing but speediest flight. Humáyún leaped

upon his horse, and galloping into the desert exclaimed, "What is the worth of Qandahár and Kábul that I should strive with my faithless brothers?" He was followed by the Empress, Bairám Beg and some other nobles while the little Akbar who had only just passed his first year was, on account of the heat, left in the camp with the rest of the suite. Shortly after Humáyún's departure, 'Askárí came up, alike enraged at his brother's escape and rejoiced over the loot of the deserted camp. He treated his young nephew with great kindness and gave him in charge to his consort in Qandahár.

Thus was Humáyún again the victim of his own credulity and compelled to seek from strangers the assistance his brothers refused. Arrived on the Persian frontier, he despatched his trusty counsellor, Bairám Beg with a letter to Sháh Ṭahmásp, informing him that he, the Emperor of Hindústán, found himself obliged to claim his hospitality for an indefinite period. Nothing could be more grateful to the vanity and high-flown schemes of the Persians than to shelter the Padsháh of Hindústán. The miserable refugees were conducted with extreme pomp to the court, then at Kazwín in the north-west of the kingdom, but spite of their splendid reception, sundry little embarrassments did not fail to arise and according to the mood of the fickle sovereign, his guests were at one time treated with disrespect, at another overwhelmed with honours. No serious quarrel occurred however because Humáyún and his people were driven by necessity to accommodate themselves to these varying conditions. The Emperor succeeded in attaching Sháh Ṭahmásp to himself the more

readily that he flattered his religious prejudices by a simulated leaning to Shí'ah doctrine and by arousing and nourishing in him the hope of propagating it in India. In this gracious mood, the Sháh bestowed on Bairám Beg the title of Khán and after a sojourn of half-a-year, Humáyún was speeded forth with an auxiliary army of 10,000 troopers. The force was under the command of Ṭahmásp's infant son, Murád with his guardian and aimed first at capturing Qandahár for Persia then, if circumstances permitted, at the reconquest of Kábul and Hindústán for Húmáyún.

At the approach of the Emperor and his allies, 'Askárí, at Kámrán's request, sent the little Akbar and his half-sister, Bakshí Bánú Begum, with their foster-mothers and other attendants from Qandahár to Kábul. To avoid notice and evade possible dangers, Akbar was, on the journey, addressed simply as *Mírah*, the young Mír, and the little princess as *Bacheh*, the child. Notwithstanding the wintry season and the difficulties of the road, the cortége reached its destination in safety. On 21st March, 1545, Humáyún and his allies appeared before Qandahár and proceeded to invest it. As the town did not immediately surrender, negotiations were opened with Kámrán in Kábul, Bairám Khán being commissioned to dispose him to peace. Kámrán however would hear nothing of accommodation and after a six weeks' detention sent the ambassador back to Humáyún. With him he sent also Khánzádah Begum, the aged sister of Bábar, ostensibly for the purpose of persuading 'Askárí to surrender Qandahár but in reality to encourage him to prolonged resistance. None the less was the town compelled to yield after a five

7th Muharram, 952 H.

months' siege. By the intercession of Khánzádah, 'Askárí was so far pardoned all previous misdeeds that he was simply placed under surveillance. In terms of the treaty with Persia, Qandahár was given over to the Sháh's commander while Humáyún and his troops camped in its vicinity. When with the beginning of winter, the Túrkís lacked both food and shelter and the Persians refused them admission to the town where they themselves were settled, Humáyún was constrained to expel his allies. They were overpowered by a daring *coup-de-main* and consequently withdrew to their homes, retiring the more readily that Prince Murád had died a short time before.

Meantime in Kábul also, events took a turn favourable to the imperial cause. 'Askárí's defeat broke the hopes of Kámrán who became unable to make up his mind to any decided line of action when he saw that many of his principal adherents had deserted him for the winning side.

Moreover, he saw clearly that by expelling the Persians from Qandahár, Humáyún had acquired a strong basis for future operations and learned that his brother was even then advancing to his own chastisement, leaving Bairám Khán as his lieutenant in Qandahár. Kámrán therefore sought safety in flight and quitted Kábul on the evening before the Emperor's arrival. Humáyún had met with no considerable opposition on his march and on 4th November, 1546, made his entry into the Afghán capital amid the rejoicings of its inhabitants. Here in addition to his political success, the further gratification fell to his share of being reunited to his son Akbar, after a separation of three years.

10th Ramazán, 953 H.

As the Empress also had now arrived from Qandahár, the rite of Akbar's circumcision, hitherto deferred by circumstances, was performed with great pomp and in accordance with the injunctions of the law.

953 H.—957 H. The complications and incidents of the next four years, from 1546 to 1550, effected no essential change in Humáyún's political position; we shall therefore only name those events which bear upon the life of Akbar. His fate was bound up with that of the fortress of Kábul in which he had remained under the charge of his foster-mothers and other attendants when on account of his tender age his father hesitated to take him into camp. During these four years, he twice fell into the hands of Kámrán but on each occasion was safely restored to his father. Changeful as were the external circumstances of his life, they can only slightly have affected him, because he was uniformly surrounded by the faithful guardians of his infancy. His most noteworthy adventure occurred a little before the second capture of Kábul by Humáyún when, by the barbarous order of his uncle, he was exposed upon the walls to the besiegers' fire, Kámrán thinking that he would thus prevent the bombardment of the town.

975 H. After, in 1550, wresting Kábul for a third and last time from the hands of his rebellious brother, Humáyún entered upon no more irregular campaigns but spent a quiet year in his capital and repelled from within its walls Kámrán's ever-weakened attacks. In this year he sought in marriage a daughter of Sulaimán Mírzá of Badakhshán with whom he desired to draw still more closely existing ties of kinship. In this same year, he sent 'Askárí who

showed signs of defection in spite of his recent promises of amendment, on pilgrimage to Makkah, in the course of which the latter died, in 1558, somewhere between Damascus and his sacred goal.

Yet once again did Kámrán make a desperate attempt to snatch the supreme power from Humáyún. In the night of 31st October, 1551, and with the aid of marauding Afgháns, he fell upon the entrenched camp of the imperialists who had marched out to the east of Kábul on hearing of his approach, but the attack failed and he was put to flight. Humáyún's satisfaction in the victory was clouded by the death of his youngest brother, Hindál who had always been more amicably disposed than Kámrán or 'Askárí towards him. Akbar was present during this night of carnage and escaped unhurt; to indemnify him for the risks he had run, the Emperor named him Hindál's heir, betrothed him to Hindál's daughter, Ruqyayah and assigned to him Hindál's *jágír* of Ghazní, adjacent to his previous fief of Chirkh, in the district of Logar.

1st Zi-lka'da, 958 H.

Kámrán's night attack, so pregnant of consequences to both sides, was the crisis of his destiny. As the Afgháns showed no intention of sacrificing themselves for his lost cause, he was driven to flee across the Indus upon Humáyún's approach. The Patháns of Dihlí certainly received him with courtesy but they neither encouraged nor reinforced him and he therefore turned himself to Adam, the Sultán of the Gakk'har hill tribe. Adam, being at enmity with the Patháns, was a natural ally of Humáyún and declared himself ready to deliver Kámrán into his hands. Kámrán consequently found himself con-

strained to submit to his brother and to join him in his camp. The pliable Humáyún would again have pardoned the rebel but his grandees forced stronger measures upon him in sequel to which, in the autumn of 1553, Kámrán was blinded and thus rendered for ever harmless without laying upon his brother the guilt of his blood. Subsequently he received permission to journey to Makkah where in 1557, he died.

961 H.

964 H.

Having now nothing to fear from his brothers, Humáyún could breath more freely but he committed the indiscretion of planning an expedition from the Panjáb to Kashmír such that, under existing circumstances, it must inevitably have conjured up new dangers. From these he was happily delivered by the refractoriness of his commanders who, on the day fixed for the march towards Kashmír, turned off towards Kábul and thus forced their Emperor to follow them. Thither, a little after his arrival in the last-named fortress, Máh Júják Begum gave birth to a son, on 18th April, 1554, who received the name of Muhammad Hakím. Just about this time, Bairám Khán who was then Governor of Qandahár, fell under Humáyún's suspicion and although he appeared before the Emperor and gave proof of his innocence, he would have been deprived of his appointment if Mu'nim Khán to whom the reversion was offered had not refused it with the acute remark that it was injudicious to mortify men so distinguished as Bairám when the conquest of India was in contemplation.

15th Jumáda I., 961 H.

To venture this enterprise the hour had come, for the might of the Afgháns was on the wane before

the disintegrating power of mutual dissension. 'Adil the king of Dihlí, a descendant and the fourth in succession from Sher Sháh, was a man as incapable as he was cruel and had been expelled from his capital by two of his most powerful kinsmen and vassals. One of these, Sikandar, threatened to usurp the throne; he had successfully possessed himself of the country between the Indus and the Ganges, had appointed Tátár Khán Governor of the Panjáb and had restricted 'Adil Sháh to the east of his kingdom.

Leaving his wives and Muhammad Hakím under charge of Mu'nim Khán and accompanied by Akbar, Humáyún marched out of Kábul in the autumn of 1554. At Bigrám, the modern Pasháwar, he halted in order to allow Bairám Khán to join him with his contingent and they then marched together, along the Kábul river, to Aṭak, where they crossed the Indus on 30th December, 1554. Jauhar details an incident in the passage which illustrates both the credulity of the period and the imperial ewer-bearer's descriptive style: "Just as His Majesty passed over, I, the humble servant, "saw the new moon and immediately congratulated His "Majesty on this auspicious event; also on his having "crossed the river and having re-entered the kingdom of "Hindústán at the moment of the new moon's appear-"ance. The king replied, 'God be praised! May it be "propitious.' This he repeated three times. Amen."*

End of 961 H.

5th Çafar, 962 H.

At this time the Emperor's army is said by Abul Fazl to have numbered only 3000 men yet on its approach, Tátár Khán evacuated Rhoṭas, a fortress

* Jauhar, l. c., p. 110.

situated on the Jhílam and reputed impregnable; moreover, he shortly afterwards abandoned Lahór, so that within three months and without serious opposition, Humáyún was once again master of the entire Panjáb. The inhabitants of the northern capital greeted him with joy and his forces received daily reinforcement from the open country, the people of which were wearied of the oppressions and mutual quarrels of the Afgháns. It is highly probable that after these successes, Humáyún would have surrendered to the allurements of a jovial life of pleasure and inactivity if Bairám Khan had not kept their purposed goal clearly before him and taken the lead entirely. With a body of picked-troops, he preceded the Emperor from Lahór, in a south-easterly direction towards the Sutlej, with the object of transferring the war as soon as possible from the subjugated Panjáb to Hindústán proper. His force was not large and as he drew near the river towards which Tátár Khán was advancing with a great army, more than one Mughul voice was raised in warning but he would not fail from his resolution. He ordered the immediate passage of the river and in the night of the same day, fell upon the enemy near Máchíwárah.* A sanguinary contest ensued, in the course of which the thatch of a village in Afghán occupation took fire and lighted the Mughuls who were themselves invisible to destroy their foes with arrows and matchlock fire. Deadly carnage continued throughout the night but the dawn saw Tátár Khán's men hurrying away in wild confusion. Couriers were started forthwith to

1555 A.D.
962 H.

* A small hamlet on the left bank of the Sutlej, some three miles above Lúdhiánah.

report the victory to the Emperor and to urge immediate reinforcement by the rest of the Mughul army.

Bairám Khán now advanced boldly with his little troop from Máchíwárah to the south-east; he strengthened the defences of Sirhind and formed an entrenched camp in its neighbourhood. A few days later, Sikandar appeared with an army which, according to Firishtah, numbered 80,000 men, and took up a position opposite Bairám Khán. Seeing the disproportion of the rival forces, the latter determined to keep steadfastly in his entrenchment until the arrival of the help he had solicited. Fourteen days elapsed before the auxiliary troops came up because Humáyún had been detained by indisposition in Lahór. Even when thus strengthened the Mughuls were outnumbered in the ratio of four to one so that the Emperor and Bairám did not dare to assume the offensive. They therefore, by a series of well-devised sallies, tried to tempt the enemy to attack their own strong position. At length, on 22nd June 1555, Sikandar, beside himself at the death of a brother which had occurred in a skirmish with Tardí Beg, yielded to their manœuvre and made an onslaught upon the Chagátáï right wing under Bairám Khán. The Mughul general stood stoutly on the defensive within his entrenchments while the imperial left wing by a daring flank movement, reached the enemy's rear. Taken thus at unawares and also blinded by rain and wind, Sikandar's ranks were broken and his men dispersed in tumultuous flight. The imperialists kept the field and the enemy's camp with all its valuable booty fell into their hands. When it came to the apportionment of honours and rewards,

2nd Sha'bán, 962 H.

Humáyún's leaders disputed as to who had most contributed to the success of the day. The question was satisfactorily evaded by ascribing the principal service to prince Akbar who received a dress of honour, a jewelled crown, a considerable portion of the spoils and was, in addition, designated Humáyún's successor. Firishtah truly says, "This victory decided the fate of the "empire and the kingdom of Dihlí fell for ever "from the hands of the Afgháns."*

While Abul Ma'álí went northwards to complete the destruction of Sikandar who had taken refuge in the highlands of the Sewalíks, a second royal officer occupied Dihlí which the Patháns had abandoned.

4th Ramazán, 962 H. On 23rd July 1555, Humáyún entered the capital amid the acclamations of its people and, after an absence of 15 years, once more ascended its throne. Occupation of the capital however, in no way assured to Bábar's son unchallenged sovereignty over his father's empire, on the contrary this had to be reconquered in detail. Of the districts which were already at Humáyún's disposal, the Panjáb was assigned to Abul Ma'álí, Hissár Fírúza to Akbar, Sirhind to Bairám while the government of Dihlí was committed to Tardí Beg. In like manner, Agrah, Sambhal and Mewát were conferred on well-deserving nobles.

Sikandar, though defeated, had by no means been rendered innocuous and now, favoured by the negligence of Abul Ma'álí, made a successful raid into the Panjáb. To put an end to the resulting disorders, Humáyún despatched Akbar, under the guardianship

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* Firishtah, Briggs II, 176.

of Bairám Khán and also appointed him governor of the Panjáb in supersession of Abul Ma'álí. He himself remained at Dihlí taking his ease in comfortable leisure: it seemed that a peaceful evening of life would requite his earlier vicissitudes. Fate had however ordained otherwise and he was to die as remarkably as he had lived.

Rabí' I. 963 H.

At the close of a day in January 1556,* he had ascended the narrow outer stair which led to his library, to enjoy the fresh air

* The day of Humáyún's death cannot be accurately stated, as the various authorities are not agreed on the point. Nizámuddín Ahmad gives 28th January, 15th Rabí' I. (Elliot V,) Jauhar and Firishtah, 11th Rabí' I.; Abul Fazl gives the same, according to Erskine. (l. c. II, 528.) Chalmers give no date.

The following interesting table of dates of Humáyún's accident and death has been taken from a note by Professor Blochmann, appended to a paper on the death of Humáyún, contributed by Mr. A. J. Rodgers, to the A. S. J. XL. Part I, 133.

	Day of the fall.	Day of H's death.
Akbarnámah.	Friday, of Rabí' I.	.....
Firishtah.	7th Rabí' I.	11th Rabí' I.
Stewart's Memoirs of Humáyún (120.)	.....	11th do.
Badáoní.	7th Rabí' I.	15th do.
Mirátul 'Álam.	.....	7th do.
Pádísháhnámah (I, 65.)	.....	Sunday, 13th do.
Kháfí Khán.	5th Rabí' I.	11th do.
Maásir-ul-Umará.	7th do.	.....

With reference to the date of death given by Badáoní, Blochmann says: "This may be a mistake of the editor. MSS. continually confound *yázduhum*, 11th and *pánzduhum*, 15th." Nizámuddín gives the 15th as the date of death. It is curious that Elliot (V. 240, Lond. 1873.) should have given the date of death thus, "15th Rabí'ul-awwal, 963 H." (24th January 1556), for the 24th January corresponds to 11th Rabí' I. Count von Noer has removed the discrepancy by giving 28th January (15th Rabí' I.), or he may possibly have used another edition of Elliot.

Blochmann says "The 13th Rabí' I, the date of Humáyún's death, accord-"ing to the Pádísháhnámáh, is certainly a Sunday, and this may be looked "upon as the correct day." For Abul Fazl's statement that the day of the accident was a Friday, there is further support in his statement that

upon the terrace. Just as he began to descend, the *muezzin* gave the summons to prayer. He seated himself on the second step from the top of the marble flight and repeated the creed. Then he tried to rise, his staff slipped along the smooth stone and he, being somewhat stiff and heavy with years, fell downwards from a height of some twenty feet. He lost consciousness but recovered it later. He had sustained internal injuries too severe to allow him to survive and he died within a few days. He was almost fifty years old and had lived a stirring life, not over long indeed but fruitful in variety and in experience.

Wide as Humáyún's opportunities had been, he had acquired relatively little of the knowledge which profits a sovereign. His character was pre-eminently lacking in the seriousness necessary to his position and his temper was too careless and too volatile to allow him to draw, from the stores of his bitter experience, the fructifying lessons which would have brought happiness to himself and to others. In the face of repeated proofs of their baseness, he gave constant opportunity to the most unworthy persons to abuse his favour and confidence. When his empire was falling in pieces, he continued an unruffled carouse in Agrah, troubleing himself much about witty speeches and repartees, but not at all about the preservation of the throne; and although, by his credulous negligence, he had suffered the reverse of Chausá, he let himself, at

Humáyún "beckoned to the people who assembled in the great mosque adjoining," presumably on a Friday. (Abul Fazl, Price, IV, 945.) Possibly the date of the fall might be determined by astronomical calculation, since Humáyún had gone up to the terrace to "observe the rising of Venus, which planet was expected to make its appearance that evening." (Abul Fazl, Price, IV, 945) Trs.

Kanauj, within a year's space and under identical circumstances, be defeated a second time by Sher Sháh. To his incorrigible brothers, above all, he was too confiding and too assuasive; he could and should much earlier, have made them as powerless for ill as his *amírs* forced him later to do. That in spite of his careless levity, he was no unskilful diplomatist is shown by the feigned inclination to Shí'ah doctrine which first gained him the aid of Persia, as well as by the adroitness with which he subsequently freed himself from the inconvenience of the alliance. Blended with the faults and deficiencies which Humáyún displayed both as a ruler and as a general, he possessed good and elevated qualities. In battle, his courage was dauntless and, as a victor, he never stained his glory by needless barbarity, although he lived in an age when men were blunted to the sufferings of others and habituated to regard human life with cold indifference. He has been reproached with perversion to Shí'ah doctrine during his sojourn in Persia, but he was really an ardent and pious Sunní of the Hanafí sect, although his amiable and accommodating nature forbade his religious zeal to rise to the impassioned heights of fanaticism. Noteworthy in Humáyún's character was the persistent elasticity with which after each defeat he rose to renewed effort and, undeterred by obstacles, pursued the great object of his life—the preservation and confirmation of his inheritance in the Chagátáï sovereignty over India. Looking to this one predominant characteristic, one feels disposed to pass by indulgently much which was less lofty, many faults and many weaknesses, for it is undeniable that in such persistency inheres a certain grandeur.

CHAPTER II.

BAIRÁM KHÁN.

PRINCE AKBAR, a boy of a little more than 13 years of age, was, at the time of his father's death, engaged in an expedition in the Panjáb, against Sikandar Khán Súr. The mournful news reached him at Kalánúr and created no small perturbation in his camp but the pressing duty of giving a new ruler to Hindústán left little leisure for lamentation. There could be no doubt about the succession for Humáyún had designated Akbar his heir.* On 14th or 15th February, 1556, after the lapse of a few days consecrated to the rites of mourning, the ceremonies of the accession were observed. In Dihlí, Tardí Beg who had distinguished himself during the re-conquest of India and who had received Mewát in fief, caused the *khuṭbah* to be read in the name of Akbar and despatched to him the royal insignia by the hands of Mírzá Abul Qásim, the son of Prince Kámrán.

2nd or 3rd Rabí' II.

As from time immemorial, such usages have not changed materially in the East, it may be permitted to sketch the details of the ceremony of the royal investiture. Surrounded by his grandees, the new ruler takes his stand upon a daïs at the upper end of the red audience tent and in front of a pile of five cushions which, in Mongol fashion, are covered with a goat-skin and which, with this, form the royal seat. Over his head are held the *chaunrís* and the *túghs* or yak-

* Ante 66.

tails and also the royal umbrella. Then he is girt with the sword of the kingdom; the kingly agrafe, fitted with a crane's feather, is fastened into his turban and he mounts the throne where, sitting, he receives the homage of his nobles and other subjects. One offers him the hilt of his sword as a sign that body and life are at his service; another, in token of fealty, brings gold coins on a silken or brocaded cloth; while a third presents choice fruits to testify that he considers his lands and possessions as belonging to his new lord. During these proceedings within the tent, a great silver kettle-drum, the royal *naqára*, assuredly sounded outside and assuredly too rose from many voices the old Moslim cry of battle and victory, "Alláhu-Akbar," although it had not then acquired the special signification attributed to it in Akbar's later years.* Simultaneously with these ceremonies, was issued the command that coins should be stamped and the *khuṭbah* read in Akbar's name.

Akbar was now Emperor of Hindústán but still too young to be competent to handle the reins of government. To Bairám Khán, the first counsellor of the prince, it fell naturally to become the guardian of the emperor. As befitted his rank and position, he must have been the first to take the oath of fidelity, swearing by the head of the dead Humáyún and by that of his own son; he became *Khán-khánán*, † and

* "God is great," and, in reference to Akbar, "Akbar is God."

† Khán-khánán—in full, Khán-i-khánán (lord of lords)—was the earliest and after the royal, the highest title in the Mughul kingdom and, as it would appear, was bestowed without being associated with any special official duties. It was conferred upon one person only, usually the first minister, occasionally however upon the commander-in-chief or a distinguished governor, and appears therefore to have connoted rank rather than power and office. Blochmann in his trs. of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí mentions the title and its insignia

moreover received the title of *Khán-bábá* (*i. e.*, *Lord-Father*), in public recognition of his regency. In this last office he obtained a renewed opportunity of manifesting his capacity; while, under his guidance, Akbar was enabled to gain experience and knowledge. Both ward and guardian were soon to be put to the proof.

Shortly after the accession, 'Adalí Sháh's all-powerful favourite and general, Hemú, had routed Tardí Beg, the governor of Dihlí, possessed himself of the ancient capital and entered it as king, under the capricious title of Rájah Vikramájít.* Hemú was a man of no ordinary character, although his origin was obscure and his demeanour that of a veritable *parvenu*. Muhammadan writers, regarding him as a low-born Hindú, have uniformly represented him in an unfavourable light. His adroit and ingratiating manner won for him not only the favour but also the confidence of his Afghán masters; from his miserable rag-shop he rapidly raised himself to the influential position of bázár-overseer; he was employed with equal success in military affairs and in politics, until at length, in spite of differences of birth and creed, he became 'Adalí Sháh's right-hand and trusted confidant. For him, Hemú won battles, conquered provinces and provided the necessary men and money for every new undertaking. When he had repeatedly defeated, had expelled or killed the great Afghán chiefs of Bengal who seized these days of disturbance to attain indepen-

but without further details. Probably these resembled the insignia of the Turkish general Vizier. In the assemblage of *amírs*, *i.e.*, the dignitaries of the imperial court, the Khán-khánán as such and whatever his office took precedence of all other nobles, immediately after the royal princes.

* Elliot V, 252.

dence, he subjugated that province in the name of his incapable master. Turning thence, he marched triumphantly north-west, leading a considerable force, to defend the interests of the house of Súr and the Afgháns against the Chagátáïs. As was natural, the news of the threatened danger awoke no small uneasiness in the imperial camp. A council of war was hurriedly summoned and the great majority of Akbar's nobles and commanders counselled rapid retreat through the Panjáb to the further side of the Indus where, among the mountains of Afghánistán, they might recruit courage and forces for a fresh contest. To this cowardly policy Bairám Khán would not consent and, as, as was usual, Akbar agreed unconditionally with him, preparations were made for a fight. The omnipotent Regent used this opportunity to rid himself of Tardí Beg who had become inconvenient to him in more than one respect. He accused him of having precipitately abandoned Dihlí upon Hemú's approach and, having obtained from Akbar what Badáoní calls a "sort of permission," put him to death without further parley.* Tardí Beg had been a friend of Bábar when both were young and although at first most faithless to Humáyún, had eventually rendered valuable service in the reconquest of India. Notwithstanding their common Túrkí origin, a deep-rooted antagonism existed between Bairám and Tardí, an antagonism which was embittered by difference of opinion, the first who had passed his youth in Persia, being a Shí'ah while the latter

End of 963 H. 1556 A.D.

* Other Muhammadan chronicles say that Bairám Khán executed Tardí Beg while Akbar was absent on a hunting expedition and before he knew of and could hinder it.

was a Sunní. Co-operation and friendship were impossible and for this reason Bairám Khán who was a coldly calculating statesman, did not hesitate for a moment to put his rival out of the way on the pretext that his life was the forfeit of his military failure. This terrifying example of inexorable power produced at least one good effect, absolute obedience supplanted the earlier insubordination, for now everyone knew that his head would answer for his deeds.

Operations against Hemú were commenced by sending in advance 'Alí Qúli Khán Shaibání, an Uzbak who with his father, Haidar Sultán, and his brother, Bahádur, had distinguished himself in the capture of Qandahár. On the first news of Hemú's inroad, he had wished to support Tardí Beg, but Dihlí was lost before he could reach it and he therefore betook himself to Akbar in Sirhind. He now moved with 10,000 horse, and, near Pánípat, came upon Hemú's van with which was the latter's artillery. On 4th November, 1556, he fell upon this division, compelled it to retire with loss and captured the chief part of the ordnance—a success which in no mean degree contributed to the Mughul victory on the day of the main battle. Meantime Akbar and Bairám detached a force against Sikandar Súr who was giving trouble in the north-eastern Panjáb, and then followed 'Alí Qúli Khán across the Sutlej with all the troops remaining under their command.

1st Muharram, 964 H.

The great military road which runs through Hindústán towards north-western Asia, bisects the broad plain of Pánípat at a distance of some 45 to 50 miles north-west from Dihlí. Pánípat is a far-reaching, almost illimitable level tract, broken only by insignificant undula-

tions. Here and there where the shallow soil is moistened by some niggardly water-course, grow sparse grasses and stunted thorn bushes but for the most part the eye falls only on a sterile yellowish-grey waste. Empty silence reigns and it would almost seem that this desert had been created for the battle field of nations Here, in the course of the ages, the most momentous issues have been fought out; here more than once has the fate of all India been decided; here the Mahábhárata places the pre-historic battles of her demi-gods and heroes; here the knightly Bábar won the sovereignty of Hindústán, in a conflict as stubborn as it was decisive; and here now, thirty years later, the fighting power of the Chagátáïs was arrayed to chase an audacious invader from the dominions of his grandson.

932 H.
1526 A.D.

Hemú, on his side, had not been negligent; when he heard that there was arming in the Panjáb for his expulsion, he hastily collected whatever troops, Afghán or Hindú, he could lay hands on. When 'Alí Qúli routed his van, on 4th November, he was a little to the south of the plain of Pánípat; during that night, he hastily arrayed his army, intending to lead it himself into action on the following morning. In his front ranks, he placed a large number of elephants in the hope of overawing and dismaying the enemy's horse and of thus compensating for the loss of his artillery. In the action which ensued, the imperialists were forced to give way before the furious onset of the animals; their two wings were driven back, and their centre only kept its position. While Hemú was using the same means for a similar rout of this division, he was struck by an arrow in the eye,

1st Muharram.

Friday, 2nd Muharram, 964 H.
5th Nov., 1556.

and received a frightful wound through which, says Abul Fazl, the "vapours of his arrogance escaped." * Overcome by pain, he sank senseless in his *hauda* and thus gave rise to the belief that he was dead. Ungovernable disorder invaded his panic-stricken troops and each man sought safety in flight. Hemú's *mahout* had tried to save his wounded master but seeing himself threatened with a lance, called out to his pursuers that he would surrender and brought his elephant to a stand. Sháh Qúli Mahram was the fortunate captor of the enemy's general. While the savage rout of fugitives and pursuers raged to a greater and greater distance, Hemú, sorely-wounded, was brought into the presence of Akbar who had joined Bairám Khán after the battle. The latter asked the Emperor to strike off the prisoner's head and thus, by slaying an infidel, win for himself the coveted title of *ghází;* † but the generous boy could not bring himself to kill a fallen and captive foe. To end the delay and to accustom his young sovereign to the sight of blood, Bairám himself shore off Hemú's head. ‡ Akbar marched into Dihlí in triumph, with some 1500 prize elephants, and Agrah, together with the other towns and districts which had done him homage at his accession, yielded to him again without opposition.

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* Akbarnámah. Trs. by Lieut. Chalmers, I, 307.

† "A champion, a hero; especially one who fights against infidels." Wilson's Glossary.

‡ Ahmad Yadgar says, at the end of his Táríkh-i Salátín-i Afághána, that Akbar himself severed Hemú's head from his "unclean body." Opposed to this are the statements of Badáoní, Abul Fazl, Faizí, and 'Abdullah (Táríkh-i Dáúdí), who unanimously testify that Akbar hesitated to kill a defenceless enemy, whereupon Bairám Khán struck off the head of the captive. Elliot V, 66 and 253.

In the beginning of 1557, news arrived that Sikandar had again descended from the Siwáliks into the Panjáb and had forced the royal governor to retire as far as Lahór, the seat of his government. Without delay, Akbar passed the Sutlej and Sikandar who was not strong enough to meet him in the open, threw himself into Mánkoṭ, a fortress in the Panjáb which Salím Sháh Súr, at enormous cost of money and life, had made one of the fastest and largest mountain fortresses which have ever existed in Hindústán. Its four gigantic towers, connected by massive walls, rendered it impregnable to the then means of attack; a besieged garrison could only be starved into surrender. Akbar would have had long to wait for its possession if unfavourable news from Bengal had not constrained Sikandar to abandon hope of re-establishing the Afghán power in India. When the siege had lasted some six months, he entered into negociations and finally gave up the fortress upon the terms of honourable appointment for his son and for himself, unmolested retirement for the rest of his days to a *jágír* in Bihár. Without having audience with Akbar, he was dismissed to his fief where he died after the lapse of a few years.

964 H.

During the beleaguerment of Mánkoṭ, Humáyún's household arrived in the royal camp, coming from Kábul under the escort of Shamsuddín Muhammad, Akbar's foster-father and the Emperor had thus the pleasure of again seeing his mother and his two foster-mothers. Hamída Bánú Begum was well worthy of the fullest measure of love and respect which her son testified to her; she was a woman of clear understanding, warm heart and elevated sentiment. When Mánkoṭ had surrendered, she took up her dowager-resi-

dence in Dihlí where her husband had passed the last days of his life and near which he had been laid to rest.

Shamsuddín Muhammad Atgah Khán was originally a simple soldier in Kámrán's army. He saved Humáyún's life after the disaster of Kanauj when, as on the occasion of his earlier defeat at Chausá, the fugitive Emperor was in danger of drowning while crossing the Ganges. As a reward, Humáyún took him into his personal service and his wife became one of Akbar's foster-mothers. She was known as Jí Jí Anagah, and as she was called foster-mother (*anagah*) so her husband Shamsuddín was designated foster-father (*atgah.*) He also received the title of Khán and his wife's son, 'Azíz who became later on Akbar's playfellow and friend, was called *kokah*, i. e., *milk-brother*. Another *kokah* was Adham, the son of Máhum Anagah, Akbar's second foster-mother; the name of his father is unknown, but it will not be incorrect to regard him as a son of Humáyún.

When Humáyún, to save his wife and himself from 'Askárí's treachery, was obliged to leave the little Akbar in the lurch near Qandahár, the child's two foster-mothers and Shamsuddín remained with him and together tended and guarded him with the most devoted fidelity. When the inhuman Kámrán exposed him to the fire of the beleaguerers of Kábul, Máhum Anagah interposed herself as a shield before her charge. The Emperor knew how to reward this loyalty and when he came to man's estate, entrusted her with the supervision of his harem. Favoured by this confidential office, she laboured unremittingly to deepen her influence over the still young and inexperienced sovereign and thus to obtain opportunity for satisfying her burn-

ing ambition. So long as a man of the stamp of Bairám Khán was at the head of affairs, it was impossible to compass this gratification or at the least her plans demanded the utmost circumspection. The death of Tardí Beg showed her with what unconcerned barbarity the Regent could remove any person whom he believed likely to endanger his own position. He bent himself with jealous anxiety to the maintenance of his power and dignity undiminished and regarded the most trivial incidents with distrust and suspicion. For example: during the investment of Mánkoṭ in July 1557, Akbar ordered an elephant duel as a diversion. It chanced that the animals when fighting approached Bairám's tent to which he was at the time confined by indisposition. He forthwith suspected that some hostile design had prompted the consequent uproar and, according to Abul Fazl, sent to demand from Máhum Anagah why raging elephants were let loose upon his tent. In spite of his sovereign's assurance that the misadventure was purely accidental, he was not appeased but continued to attribute it to the machinations of Atgah Khán whom he had long distrusted. When the court arrived at Lahór, Shamsuddín with his whole family appeared before him and most solemnly abjured the accusation. Humáyún had promised Bairám to give to him in marriage the accomplished daughter of his nephew Nuruddín, by name Salímah Sulṭán. At the end of 1557 and apparently with the object of assuaging the Khán-khánán's ill-humour, this marriage was celebrated, Akbar himself accepting his guardian's invitation to be present at the accompanying banquet.

964 H.

965 H.

The star of the Regent nevertheless declined more and more rapidly to its setting and he himself accelerated

its course in every possible way. He bestowed the dignity of Commander of Five Thousand *(Panjhazárí)* on no fewer than twenty-five of his own favourites in disregard of the greater claims and juster deserts of others.* In 1558, he appointed Shaikh Gadáí, an ardent Shí'ah, to the office of Chief Justice *(Çadr)* an appointment which must necessarily have been unwelcome to the Chagátáïs, the majority of whom were Sunnís. On the other hand (1559), he gave an unbecoming reception to the celebrated Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwláiár, a man justly esteemed and favoured by the Emperor and many of the nobles so that, to his own annoyance and that of his friends, the Shaikh was obliged to return to his home without effecting the purpose of his journey. The Regent found a way of removing yet another suspect from court when he commissioned Máhum Anagah's son, Adham, to punish the rebellious Rájpúts of Hatkánt'h. Even more than by his indiscreet partiality, he offended by the unconcerned tyranny of his acts.† On one occasion at the beginning of 1560, a royal elephant maimed one of his own, and he there and then put to death its *mahout* who was absolutely free from blame. Shortly after this incident, a *mast* elephant of the royal stud rushed into the Jamnah in such a manner as to endanger the life of the Regent who was unfortunately on the river at the time. Having regard

965 H.

966 H.

967 H.

* The passage referred to by Count v. Noer is as follows: "The Tabaqát-i-Akbarí says that no less than twenty-five of Bairám's friends reached the dignity of Panjhazárí—rather a proof of Bairám's gift of selecting proper men," (Blochmann, 316.) There would seem a misconception therefore on his part. Trs.

† Blochmann 270 *et seq.*

to Bairám Khán's susceptibilities, it was deemed discreet to send the animal's *mahout* to him "bound* "when disregarding the fact that his life had been saved "by the man's exertions, Bairám had him put to death."

In Qandahár, a Sunní *molla*,† named Pír Muhammad had attached himself to the Regent and, notwithstanding the opposition of their respective creeds, had not hesitated to enter his service in the hope of profiting by his favour and influence. In him, the Khán-khánán soon found a tool fitted to his hands and he made of him his general manager (*vakal-i-mítlak*). Whether it was to convey a message to the royal harem or to perform some high-handed deed, this man was equally serviceable: he took part in the murder of Tardí Beg: he put out of the way another person who had displayed inimical feeling towards the Khán-khánán—a distinguished Chagátáï named Musháheb Beg; he once caused a messenger from 'Alí Qúli Khán to be beaten ‡ and generally comported himself as arrogantly as if he had been the real person in authority and the Khán-khánán only his nominal superior. It would appear that the malcontents contemplated making use of Pír Muhammad's influential position to work upon the Regent and the course of events indicates that the favourite did not prove inaccessible to their wishes. Only on this supposition indeed does the fact become explicable that Bairám Khán gave ear to the enviers of Pír Muhammad and let his *protégé* fall at the earliest opportunity. The occasion was given at the end of 1558 in

966 H.

* Chalmers I, 341-342; Blochmann 316. note 1.

† A Muhammadan lawyer or learned man, a judge, a magistrate, etc. Wilson's Glossary. Trs.

‡ Badáoní and Abul Fazl both state that the messenger was thrown from a tower and so killed. Trs.

the following manner: Owing to indisposition, Pír Muhammad had kept himself secluded for several days. The Khán-khánán went to see how he was but his *vakíl's* door-keeper refused him admittance until he should have been announced. Pír Muhammad was filled with consternation at his slave's want of tact and rushed out to meet his patron but no apology could allay Bairám's suspicion and this the less that on his entry one servant only was permitted to accompany him. Two or three days later, he took from his former favourite all the insignia of his dignity and at the instigation of Shaikh Gadáí sent him as a prisoner to the fort of Biánah and subsequently ordered him to proceed to Makkah. Pír Muhammad started for Gujrát; as he journeyed, he was overtaken and plundered by the Regent's people and saved his life with difficulty.* He was compelled to remain in hiding and await better times.

Disaffection against Bairám Khán now culminated; even the Emperor was angered to the highest degree by this most recent act of despotism† for the disgraced *molla* had been one of his own tutors. Máhum Anagah who had long intrigued in secret against the Regent, now felt himself in a position to carry her schemes against him into action.

In March 1560, a "hunting party was formed and
967 H. "Akbar, under the pretence of follow-
"ing the chase at Koel, crossed the
"Jamnah and then succeeded in prevailing upon Mírzá
"Abul Qásim, son of Prince Kámrán, to come over after

* Chalmers I, 338.

† There is a slight chronological error in naming this the "jüngste Eigenmächtigkeit." *Vide ante*, dates of Bairám's offences. Trs.

"him and by this excellent device, he prevented the "youth from being left in Bairám's hands and made "the instrument of rebellion."* The two young men proceeded together to Jaksar and thence to Sikandrábád and Koel "when the mother of Akbar who was at Dihlí, "being slightly indisposed, he still marched onwards as "if to visit her, to Dihlí."

The plans against Bairám had been concocted in conjunction with Máhum Anagah's friend and kinsman Shihábuddín Ahmad, a *sayyid* of Nísháپúr and Tardí Beg's successor in the government of Dihlí: he now placed that city in a posture of defence to favour her designs. When Akbar drew near the capital, Shíháb met him with all show of respect and was awarded a gracious reception. The conspirators now made every effort to turn the separation from Bairám into a complete breach. Máhum Anagah set forth to Akbar that there could be no question of his independence so long as the helm of affairs was held by the Khán-khánán: that she should not be able to evade his wrath when he should come to know that she had brought about Akbar's visit to Dihlí and that consequently, unless the Emperor listened to her counsels, she must beg permission to depart for Makkah. At this time Akbar does not seem to have apprehended the extent of his concessions to his foster-mother, at any rate he wrote as follows to his guardian: "As I have come all this way without con- "sulting you, my attendants have fallen under your "suspicion. Now you must make yourself quite at ease "about them so that you (? they. Trs.) may continue "to serve me with a tranquil mind."† Bairám, though

* Chalmers I, 343. Trs.

† Nizámuddín Ahmad. Elliot V, 262.

not unwarned* did not foresee the critical and unavoidable results of the incident and replied: "The devo- "tion and loyalty of your servant would never allow "him to do anything to any servant of the State "against your Majesty's wishes; for nought but kind- "ness and favour is due to all those who faithfully "discharge their duties."† Pending this reply, the Emperor had been so prejudiced by his environment that "the Khán's message did not receive approval "and the messengers were sent back." Shihább Khán and Máhum Anagah were indued with supreme authority and, on hearing of Bairám's fall, the nobles flocked to Dihlí to testify their devotion to the newly-risen powers.

It was now clear to Bairám Khán that office and dominion had been filched from him. He resolved to betake himself to Makkah while at the same time cherishing the hope that by fomenting disturbances, he might compel his recal. With this aim, he quitted Agrah for Alwar on 8th April 1560, and halted on his way at Biánah to release and despatch to court two State prisoners. On intelligence of his march, Máhum Anagah induced Akbar to lead an army into the Panjáb so that he might be in a position to nip in the bud any attempts at rebellion. Her advice was followed and at the same time, Akbar sent his trusted tutor, 'Abdul Latíf to Bairám with this message: "As I was fully assured "of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs "of State in your charge and thought only of my "own pleasures. I have now determined to take the

12th Rajab 967 H.

* Chalmers I, 343. Trs.

† Nizámuddín Ahmad. Elliot V, 263.

"reins of government into my own hands and it is "desirable that you should now make the pilgrimage "to Makkah upon which you have been so long intent. "A suitable *jágír* out of the *parganas* of Hindústán "shall be assigned for your maintenance, the revenues "of which shall be transmitted to you by your "agents."* Bairám Khán listened attentively to this communication and left Alwar for Nagór whence he sent to the Emperor his banner, kettle-drums and all other insignia of rank. These paraphernalia were brought to Akbar in Jhujhar and as their surrender was sufficient evidence that the Khán-khánán was in earnest about his pilgrimage, the Emperor returned to Dihlí. By way of precaution, a body of troops was left behind to watch Bairám's departure and under the command of Pír Muhammad who, on news of the Regent's downfall, had quitted Gujrát † and who had been dignified with the title of Khán. That this man of all others should have been entrusted with this duty aroused Bairám's bitterness and despair, for he knew he had no mercy to expect from his former favourite. He relinquished the thought of the pilgrimage and moved into the Panjáb, designing, with the aid of earlier friends, to win back his lost position with the strong arm. His desperate plan did not meet with the support he had counted on and he was consequently unable to confront Shamsuddín Muhammad Atgah in sufficient force. He was defeated and fled with a few faithful followers to the Sewáliks. Here he was hard-pressed by Akbar himself and his

* Nizámuddín Ahmad. Elliot. V, 264.

† He had already when on his way to Gujrát, been advised by letter of Adham Khán to postpone his pilgrimage.

mind being also profoundly depressed by the death of Husain Jalair, a former friend who had fallen fighting against him for Akbar, he sent one of his people to the Emperor with this message: "I deeply repent my deeds "which have not been entirely under my own control; "but if I am favoured by the royal clemency, I will "throw the veil of oblivion over my misdeeds and will "present myself in your presence and hope for your "forgiveness."* Thereupon Akbar sent the Shaikh-ul-Islám of the Empire, Maulána Makhdúm-ul-Mulk 'Abdullah of Sultánpúr to persuade Bairám Khán to come into his camp and to promise him personal safety. Bairám however put no faith in the Shaikh's assurance and said: "I am worthy of every sort of punishment "and my head hangs low with shame, and though I am "satisfied with the kindness of disposition of the "monarch of the world, I am fearful of the Chagátái "*omras* and the courtiers of the State."† At length he consented to leave his place of refuge on condition that Mu'nim Khán, his successor in the governorship should solemnly and in person vow that he should be inviolate. This being conceded, he accompanied Mu'nim into the royal camp. In accordance with the custom for the reception of a man of his rank, all the *amírs* and *kháns* went in ceremonious procession to meet him. He approached the Emperor's tent in the guise of a suppliant, bare-footed and with his turban folded round his neck. He prostrated himself before the throne and weeping touched the carpet with his forehead. Akbar rose from his seat and

* Nizámuddín Ahmad. Elliot V, 267-268.
† Chalmers I, 362.

desired him to stand up and take again his place of honour on his own right hand. The Emperor then spoke thus to the assemblage: "If Bairám Khán loves "a military life, the government of Kalpí and Chanderí "offer a field for his ambition. If he choose rather "to remain at court, our favour shall not be wanting "to the benefactor of our family; but should he be "disposed to seek devotion in retirement, let him per- "form a pilgrimage to Makkah whither he shall be "escorted in a manner suitable to his rank." Bairám Khán rose, bowed and answered, "The royal con- "fidence being once shaken, how can I wish to remain "in the presence? The clemency of the king is enough "and his forgiveness is more than a reward for my "former services. Let me therefore avert my thoughts "from this world to another and be allowed to proceed "to the holy shrine." Akbar approved this petition, gave him a dress of honour, assigned him a pension and dismissed him with kindness.

While the Emperor and his court were on the way back to his favourite Agrah, Bairám Khán and his family set out for Makkah. He was not however destined to reach the holy city, he was murdered at Patan, on the high road, by an Afghán whose father appears to have been killed in action against the Mughuls. The great man departed with "*Alláhu Akbar*" (God is great) on his lips.

Friday, 14th Jumada-I. 968 H. 31st Jan. 1561. A.D.

CHAPTER III.

MÁHUM ANAGAH AND SHAMSUDDÍN. TO THE TIME OF THE REBELLION OF JAUNPÚR.

Now that Bairám Khán's death had sealed his fall, his exasperated opponents had nothing more to fear. The sources mention only the circumstances of his murder without a word of elucidation further than that it was the consummation of a blood feud.* It

* The author says "Die Quellen erwähnen nur den Hergang seiner Ermordung, ohne der That auch nur ein weiteres Wort der Erklärung hinzufügen, als dass sie die Vollziehung einer Blutrache war." There is however an unusual consensus of testimony among the authorities as to the cause of Bairám's death and an additional reason is given by Abul Fazl. Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V, 268) says "an Afghán named Mubárak "Khán Lohání whose father had been killed in an action with the Mughuls, "came to wait upon the Khán-khánán with the intention of wreaking ven- "geance upon him. When they were shaking hands he assassinated him "with his dagger."

Firishtah (Briggs II, 204) says "Beiram Khan was accosted by one "Moobarik Khan Lohany, a person whose father he had slain in battle with "his own hand. The wretch, pretending to embrace him, drew his dagger "and stabbed Beiram Khan to the heart."

Badáoní (Lowe, Fas. I. 40) says, "One named Mubárak Khán Afghán "whose father the Khán-khánán at the beginning of the conquest of Hindú- "stán had ordered to be put to death, being resolved on vengeance * * * "with one blow of his gleaming dagger made him drink the draught of "martyrdom."

Abul Fazl's statements on the point are thus summarised by Blochmann "(l. c. 317) "Bairám was stabbed by a Lohání Afghán of the name of "Mubárik, whose father had been killed in the battle of Máchhíwarah."— "The motive of Mubárik Khán is said to have merely been revenge. "Another reason is mentioned. The Kashmírí wife of Sálim Sháh with her "daughter had attached herself to Bairám's suite, in order to go to Hijáz and "it had been settled that Bairám's son should be betrothed to her (*i. e.* "the daughter) which annoyed the Afgháns." Trs.

is not however possible to resist the conjecture that together with this cause another may have worked. The mere possibility of Bairám's return from Makkah must have made delivery from such a formidable adversary appear most desirable and even imperative. This is to be read in the well-weighed words in which Abul Fazl speaks of his death :—

"About this time the accounts of the death of Bairám Khán were "brought to court and notwithstanding the numerous offences of this "illustrious servant, some few of which have been alluded to, the "humanity of Akbar's disposition caused him unfeigned sorrow at "this sad event."

"It is difficult to decide whether his death was intended as a just "retribution for his former deeds or whether it was that he still nursed "designs of mischief or whether his virtuous prayer was heard and he "was released by the mercy of God from the burden of shame and "disgrace wherewith he had laden himself." *

In recognition of the pre-eminent services of the murdered Khán-khánán, Akbar deemed it his duty to disregard the envious efforts of detractors and to afford special protection to Bairám's son, 'Abdurrahím who was about four years old at the date of his father's death. He had been born at Lahór, on 17th December 1556 and his mother was a daughter of Jamál Khán of Mewát. he now received the title of Mírzá and was subsequently married to Máh Bánú, a sister of 'Azíz Kokah. In 1560-1, Akbar added to the number of his own wives his kinswoman and Bairám's widow, Salímah Sultán Begum.

14th Çafar 964 H.

968 H.

Bairám's property was seized by Máhum Anagah but such spoils did not satisfy her domineering and intriguing nature which aspired likewise to the influence

* Chalmers I. 376. Trs.

of the fallen statesman. The position of oriental women in their relation to extra-domestic life differing essentially from that of women in Europe, Máhum Anagah could not openly take part in the direction of public affairs but none the less was she the Emperor's prime confidante on all subjects and none the less did she hold the reins of government. Traces of her ascendancy were soon perceptible : all the more important offices was filled with her friends and favourites, so that Bairám's death drew with it momentous changes, not only in the tutelage of the Emperor but in every department of civil and military administration. It is hardly necessary to say that, defects and faults notwithstanding, the strong, publicly-conducted government of one capable and experienced man compared favourably with that of an undisciplined crew of women and favourites. Máhum Anagah was less concerned for the welfare of the young sovereign and the prosperity of his dominions than for her own cardinal aim,—the forwarding of her interests, the extension and strengthening of her power and the retention of Akbar in leading-strings for as long as was possible, even to the prejudice of himself and his people.

In order to afford her son Adham an opportunity of acquiring wealth and glory, she had him entrusted with the reconquest and government of Málwah. By giving him Pír Muhammad as his counsellor she compassed a second object—the removal of an inconvenient rival from court. When, in 1561, Adham reached Sárangpúr, he was opposed by the Pathán Báz Bahádur who five years earlier had raised himself to the sovereignty of Málwah. Him Adham defeated and put to flight across the

968 H.

Narbadah. Báz Bahádur's favourite wife Rúpmatí,* a singer and poet renowned throughout India, together with several other women of his harem and all his treasures fell into the hands of his conqueror who marched with them in triumph to Mandú, the ancient capital of Málwah. Puffed up by this rapid success, Adham not only withheld from the Emperor his rightful share of the valuable booty † but demeaned himself generally as though he were independent in Málwah instead of being Akbar's lieutenant.

Upon receiving intelligence of Adham's proceedings, the Emperor determined to go in person to check his unruliness. Máhum Anagah hurried off a secret mes-

* "Báz Bahádur fled discomfited towards Khándesh and reached Burhán-"púr leaving the greater part of his property—his harem with his concu-"bines and dancing girls who had formed the sources of his enjoyment and "the embellishment of his days and who all fell into the hands of the brave "warriors. The wretch when preparing for battle had according to the "practice of Hindústán posted over these beauteous women a band of "followers, with strict orders that whenever they should become certain of "his defeat, they should put the whole of them to the remorseless sword "lest they should be taken captive by strangers. When therefore, these "demoniac savages first beheld his defeat, they commenced the work of "murder. Several of these lovely and innocent creatures were slain, many "were mangled but to some the fatal hour had not arrived when the fierce "bands of Akbar reached the city, in time to prevent the consummation "of their horrid purpose. The fairest of these fair creatures was one "named Rúpmatí, towards whom the finger of admiration was pointed by "the whole world; and Báz Bahádur humbly adored those charms which "were celebrated by all the poets of Ind. The ruthless monster who was "appointed to guard her had inflicted several dreadful gashes when he was "interrupted and left her almost dead. Adham Khán who on the flight of "Báz Bahádur, fled with the utmost haste to Sárangpúr to secure these "treasures and peerless beauty, had obtained possession of the greater part "of them and anxiously despatched emissaries on every side in search of "Rúpmatí but she no sooner heard the circumstance than the pride of "virtue impelled her to swallow a draught of deadly poison and she died "faithful to the bed of her lord." Chalmers I, 385 (cir.)

† Nizámuddín Ahmad says that Adham Khán sent a report of the victory and several elephants to the Emperor. Elliot V, 271.

senger to warn her son of Akbar's coming, but the latter nevertheless contrived to take his presumptuous lieutenant utterly by surprise. Adham had just left Sárangpúr in the hope of winning new laurels and more treasure by the reduction of Gágrún, one of the strongest forts in Málwah and which was still in the hands of adherents of Báz Bahádur. He came unexpectedly upon the Emperor, some six miles from Gágrún and after Akbar himself had compelled the surrender of the fort. As he had no suspicion of his sovereign's neighbourhood, Adham was completely disconcerted by the rencounter and had barely presence of mind to dismount and offer fitting greeting. Akbar was inclined to let mercy once more serve for justice; he accepted the homage of Adham and his companions and marched with them in festive fashion to Sárangpúr where he honoured the palace of his lieutenant with his presence. Adham profferred costly gifts, such as were customary from a host to a guest, and amongst them gave splendid robes but the mistrust aroused by his earlier misconduct had not passed away and it was only after long delay that Akbar was persuaded to change his dusty riding suit. When Adham Khán had so far humbled himself as to show at least the semblance of subjection, the Emperor ordered a bed to be prepared for him "on the roof of the palace at a distance from "his own seraglio which had not arrived."

According to Abul Fazl, this intriguing son of an intriguing mother "planted an ambuscade to slay him "(Akbar) in the event of his endeavouring (as he ex-"pected) to violate his (Adham's) harem."* Akbar

* Chalmers I, 390. Trs.

and his later friend, the chronicler, would have given no such special prominence to this incident if they had not had earlier food given them for reflection. On the next day, the royal camp and the harem with Máhum Anagah at its head entered Sárangpúr. Akbar's celerity having thwarted her plan of warning her son, she now strove to persuade the latter to the speediest and fullest submission and urgently counselled him to surrender the spoils of Báz Bahádur. Akbar selected for himself a number of the beautiful women of the defeated Pathán's harem and also a portion of the valuable booty, leaving the rest for his humbled lieutenant.

No sooner had the Emperor set off on his return journey to A'grah, than Adham, with the connivance of Máhum Anagah, attempted to regain possession of two of the most beautiful of the captives who had been chosen by Akbar. He hoped that the abduction would pass unnoticed in the confusion attendant upon breaking up the camp, but information was speedily carried to Akbar who at once sent horsemen to bring back the fugitives. When the two unhappy and innocent girls again reached the imperial camp, Máhum Anagah there and then had them murdered, with the object of preventing the Emperer from hearing the truth as to the abduction from their lips. Abul Fazl calls this act "a monstrous cruelty" which was "however overlooked "ed by Akbar from the regard he entertained for the "matron."*

When affairs had been arranged in Málwah and valuable presents bestowed on Pír Muhammad and the local *jágírdárs*, Akbar set out on his return march to A'grah.

* Chalmers I, 391. Trs.

In the neighbourhood of Narwar he was riding ahead alone when a tigress, with five cubs (!) came out of the jungle into his path. Without hesitation, he drew his sword and at one blow stretched her on the ground. When his retinue came up and saw him standing quietly near his dead foe, many a chief among them may have forboded that there was now to do with a sovereign who spite of his youth and previous dependence, would be able to give rebellion its fitting chastisement. In any case, this episode afforded Akbar an opportunity of making manifest the personal courage and cool resolution which he evinced so amply in later years.

968 H. In this same year (1561) and after the royal return to Agrah, Shamsuddín Muhammad Atgah brought costly gifts to court and obtained a most favourable reception. He had been appointed governor of the Panjáb on Bairám Khán's death and for this reason he, like Máhum Anagah, meditated succeeding to the power and influence of the late Regent. Possibly he had been apprized of the doings in Mandú and judged that under existing circumstances there would be no great difficulty in deposing Máhum Anagah for, although to all appearance, Akbar had thought well to overlook the misdeeds of his confidante and her son, his former trust must have been considerably shaken. Of this there is evidence in the sudden recall of Adham from Málwah and his supersession in its government by Pír Muhammad. The Emperor being now compelled to look round for other counsellors, it needed no great pressure on the part of Shamsuddín to obtain the office of Prime Minister and the direction of state affairs, thus superseding Mu'nim Khán, a thorough-going supporter of

Máhum Anagah. Although he was now supreme in authority, his position was one of extreme difficulty; his mere nomination had drawn upon him the implacable ill-will of Máhum Anagah and her party; relations between them became daily more strained and their opposition more and more sharply defined. As however, since the incident of Sárangpúr, the Emperor had apparently given no heed to the inuendoes of his confidante, at least in matters of state, Atgah Khán's enemies were driven to violent measures to rid themselves of his rivalry. In the hot-headed Adham who was now still more embittered by his recall from Málwah, they found a tool only too ready to their hands.

12th Ramazán 969 H. In the night of 16th May 1562, the Prime Minister, the Kháns Mu'nim and Shihábuddín and other grandees were sitting in the audience chamber of the imperial palace at A'grah to discuss state business.* Suddenly Adham with some of his wild associates burst into the apartment and stabbed the unsuspecting Shamsuddín in the breast. The wounded man sprang up and tried to flee but was overtaken by the conspirators and stretched on the ground by two sword cuts. Holding his bloody weapon still in his hand, Adham directed his steps towards the Emperor's apartments. The noise of the affair had aroused Akbar from sleep; he hastened out to learn its cause and on turning a corner near the harem came

* Nizámuddín Ahmad places the occurrence a year later, on the morning of Sunday, 12th Ramazán 970H. (1563 A. D.). Elliot V, 277. In the details of the murder also, the authorities are at variance. Badáoní states that Adham himself killed Shamsuddín, others say that he gave him a dagger-thrust and then left him to be despatched by attendants. Blochmann 324 and 321, Note 1. Elliot VI, 26 *et seq*.

upon the culprit. Adham sprang towards him and clinging to his hands besought him not to condemn him unheard. Akbar freed himself from the hold of the murderer and dealt him a blow in his face which felled him senseless to the ground ;* then burning with anger, he turned to his stupified attendants and ordered them to bind the criminal and throw him from the parapet of the palace. The terrified servants executed this order so unskilfully that the fall did not cause instant death. Akbar consequently commanded them to drag him by the hair and again cast him over.† The news of her son's crime reached Máhum Anagah when she was confined to her bed by sickness but she rose instantly and hastened to the palace to entreat his pardon. Akbar received her with tender concern, acquainted her with her son's death and dismissed her to her home graciously. She did not long survive the death of her cherished child and the shattering of her ambitious hopes ; stricken with grief, she died 40 days later in spite of all Akbar's efforts at consolation. Her body was taken to Dihlí and placed near that of her son. The Emperor himself accompanied the funeral train for some distance and all the nobles and officers of State paid her the last honours.

In grateful remembrance of the attendant of his childhood, Akbar placed a monument over her grave which is remarkable at once for its simplicity and its grandeur and which after the lapse of three centuries still stands uninjured. The stone marking the grave of Adham Khán has indeed in modern times been

* Abul Fazl says that the Emperor gave a blow of such force that it was thought that Adham Khán had been struck with a mace.

† Chalmers I, 416. Trs.

moved from its position under the lofty dome of the mausoleum into a verandah in order to make room for European travellers for whose accommodation the building is now assigned ; the more modest tombstone of Máhum Anagah is however still in place and has sometimes served as a table to the wanderer from far lands when he has returned hungry and weary to his dismal quarters from survey of the ruins of the imperial metropolis of ancient India. This splendid memorial bears living witness to Akbar's magnanimity and noble temper. When the death of the murderer had avenged his Prime Minister, his anger against him and his accomplices evaporated ; he then remembered only Adham's services in Hatkánth and in Málwah ; only the fidelity and self-devotion with which Máhum Anagah had sheltered him "from the cradle to the throne." Considering the death of this faithful servant a sufficient atonement for the murder of his foster-father, he permitted no more bloodshed but let justice give place to mercy towards all who had sinned in the unhappy affair. Mu'nim, Shihábuddín and many other grandees who had incited Adham to his crime and who, conscious of guilt, had sought by flight to avoid the Emperor's anger and the vengeance of the Atgah Khail,* Shamsuddín's kinsmen, received full pardon on their return to court and were reinstated in their former dignities and offices. Neither upon the Atgah Khail did Akbar impose a penalty for having wished in the excitement aroused by the murder of their chief, to forestall the royal justice. Yúsuf Muhammad, the eldest son of the murdered man had immediately called his kinsmen

* The "foster-father battalion." Blochmann 321. Trs.

to arms for the purpose of crushing Máhum Anagah and her guilty son; and these relaxed their threatening attitude only when they had assured themselves that the Emperor had himself avenged his foster-father. Their ill-feeling against Mu'nim Khán and the rest of the conspirators would nevertheless undoubtedly have led to bloodshed if an opportunity had not been made of removing them for a while from the court, by commissioning them to aid Kamál Khán Gakk'har whose fidelity had established a claim to assistance, in regaining his paternal inheritance from his uncle A'dam. This uncle had lately succeeded to the headship of the Gakk'har clan by the death of his brother, Sultán Sárang and had taken possession of the whole of the Gakk'har country. Akbar ordered a partition to be effected between A'dam and his nephew Kamál and this task he entrusted, at this crisis, to the eldest brother of the late Atgah, Khán-i-Kalán Mír Muhammad and to other *jágírdárs* of the Panjáb who for the most part belonged to the Atgah Khail. Sultan A'dam refused to assent to the terms of the imperial *farmán* but after an obstinate resistance, he was overcome and together with his son Lashkarí, delivered to Kamál Khán who thus acquired sole command in the Gakk'har country. Lashkarí was put to death; his father was imprisoned and died shortly afterwards in confinement. When the *amírs* of the Atgah Khail had composed the differences of the Gakk'hars, they returned to their *jágirs* in the Panjáb.*

* For particulars of this hill-tribe consult the excellent "History of the Gakk'hars" of J. E. Delmerick; A. S. B. Journal 1871; also General Cunningham's Archæological Survey of India. Simla, 1871. p. 22 *et seq* and Blochmann 455-6 and 486.

Hardly had the difficulties between the murderers of Shamsuddín and his clansmen been evaded before another personal quarrel in Akbar's environment conjured up fresh dangers for the empire. Early in the reign, a descendant of Timur had come from Túrán to India to seek his fortune at the Chagátáï court. This was Mírzá Sharafuddín and he came because he was unable to agree with his father, Khwájah Mu'ínuddín. He gained Máhum Anagah's potent favour and by her mediation was named a *Panjházarí*.* A little later the Emperor's sister, Bashí Bánú Begum was given to him in marriage and the governments of Ajmír and Nágor conferred upon him. In the year of the murder of Shamsuddín, he had distinguished himself at the siege of the hill-fort of Mírt'ha which was defended by the two Rájpút heroes, Jai Mall and Dévi Dás but which notwithstanding their gallant resistance, fell into the hands of the imperialists. In the following year, his father returned unexpectedly from Makkah and coming to A'grah, was greeted with an almost royal reception. As Sharafuddín continued to nourish suspicion against his father and, to quote Nizámuddín Ahmad, "his mind had been perverted by designing men" he now fled from court towards his *jáyírs* of Nágor and Ajmír. Husain Qulí, a son of Bairám Khán's sister, was deputed to follow and capture him. When the royal troops approached, the Mírzá moved off to Jálor where he fell in with Abul Ma'álí, then just returning from Makkah and wishing to go to court. These two concocted a scheme of rebellion. Abul Ma'álí had been a favourite of Humáyún but, owing to his presumptuous behaviour, had fallen under Akbar's displeasure whilst heir apparent, and had been

* Commander of Five Thousand. Trs.

dismissed from court. He could not forget this grudge against the Emperor and therefore seized with avidity the opportunity of raising a rebellion in order wherever possible, to destroy his authority and to set Prince Muhammad Hakím in his room. The plan of the conspirators was for Abul Ma'álí to push on to Kábul and bring the prince to India, taking Hájípúr on his march where Husain Qulí Khán had left his family, and for Sharafuddín meantime to do all he could to provoke general rebellion. Abul Ma'álí had miscalculated if he had hoped to surprise Hájípúr and with it the household of Husain Qulí, for he found, on nearing the town, that Sikandar and Ahmad, kinsmen of Husain Qulí, were forewarned and had advanced to oppose him. This determined him to turn off towards Nárnaul which quickly surrendered and was looted by its captors. Upon intelligence of its fall, Husain Qulí sent his brother in pursuit of the rebels. He joined Sikandar and Ahmad in Hájípúr and their conjoined forces marched in rapid pursuit of Abul Ma'álí towards Nárnaul and thence into the Panjáb whither he fled before them. They would probably have effected his capture if treachery in the army of Sikandar and Ahmad had not delivered them into his hands. A body of men under their command had formerly served Sharafuddín and for this reason now conspired to desert to the ally of their earlier master. They sent a message to Abul Ma'álí in accordance with which he concealed himself in the jungle bordering the road and thence fell upon Sikandar and Ahmad unawares. At the same time, the traitorous soldiers let fall their mask and attacked their recent comrades. Taken by surprise, the royal troops hurried off in disorder : only

the two leaders remained and they, after a manful resistance fell, slaughtered by overwhelming numbers. When the intelligence of this lamentable occurrence reached Akbar, he at once despatched a strong force against which Abul Ma'álí could not hope to make head, although he had hitherto successfully evaded the royal power by cunning or treachery. He therefore betook himself to Kábul with the object of inducing Máh Júják Begum, the mother of Muhammad Hakím to take up his cause. He wrote her a letter in which he protested his devotion and reverence for Humáyún, her dead husband, and certainly also flattered the imperious and ambitious woman with the expectation that he would stake his all to place her son, then a child of ten years, upon the throne of Dihlí. Hereupon the Begum allowed him to present himself to her, made him her confidant and gave him to wife a sister of Muhammad Hakím. He ill-requited her kindness by stabbing her with his own hand, at the instigation of certain malcontent Kábulí nobles ; a death which however was a just retribution for the evil and cruelty she had perpetrated.

When Humáyún had conquered India, Kábul with its year old ruler, Muhammad Hakím had been placed in the charge of Mu'nim Khán. On the disgrace of Bairám and Mu'nim's consequent accession to the dignities of Khán-khánán and Prime Minister, the town had been confided to one Muhammad Khán : he was quickly superseded, as unfitted for the appointment by a son of Mu'nim, Ghaní by name, with whom, as coadjutor was associated a nephew of Mu'nim, Abul Fath Beg. Ghaní Khán likewise proved unequal to his position and his action aroused general

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disaffection. This made it easy for the ambitious Máh Begum to grasp the first chance of assuming the direction of affairs which she did in conjunction with Sháh Walí Atgah, Fazl Beg and Abul Fath Beg—all haters of Ghaní Khán. Their chance came one day when the governor happening to leave the town, the conspirators closed its gates upon him. As he was powerless to compel re-admission, he had no other resource than to betake himself to court. Dissensions soon broke out among the conspirators themselves because Abul Fath and his father Fazl who had been entrusted with the conduct of affairs, had no other thought than to enrich themselves at the expense of their confederates. They were consequently murdered with the approval of the Begum and Sháh Walí Atgah stepped into their place. When news of these disorders came to the Emperor's ears, he sent Mu'nim Khán against Kábul whereupon the Begum marched as far as to Jalálábád to oppose him and maintain her supremacy by force of arms. Mu'nim Khán had hoped that the Kábulís would side with him, their former governor, and had taken with him an insufficient force; the Begum was victorious in the first engagement and Mu'nim was obliged to return "lingering and ashamed" to his royal master while his adversary went triumphantly back to Kábul. In a short time, she conceived a suspicion againstSháh Walí Atgah, put him to death and appointod in his stead Haidar Qásim Kohbar who would undoubtedly have shared the fate of his predecessors if the dagger of Abul Ma'álí had not fixed a term to the sanguinary deeds of this terrible woman.

Abul Ma'álí himself was powerless to evade his fate

although for a time it certainly seemed that he would be able to maintain himself in the position he had purchased at the price of so much blood. After murdering the Begum, he got Prince Muhammad Hakím into his hands and defeated and put to flight, after a stubborn conflict, a number of nobles who had sworn to avenge the Begum. In their discomfiture the vanquished turned to Mírzá Sulaimán, the ruler of Badakhshán who with the permission of his wife Churram Begum * and especially as at the same time Muhammad Hakím entreated his help, moved towards Kábul to expel Abul Ma'álí. A battle ensued near the river Ghorband duringwhich the prince whom Abul Ma'álí had brought with him, took an opportunity afforded by the absence of the latter for the reinforcement of his right wing and led over his men to the Mírzá. Abul Ma'álí's army fled panic-stricken, he himself was taken and brought to Sulaimán who then, accompanied by Muhammad Hakím, entered Kábul. Two days later he sent the murderer of Máh Júyak with hands bound behind the back to the prince who had him strangled in the night of 10th May 1563. Sulaimán married his daughter to Muhammad Hakím, divided the *jáyírs* of Kábul among his adherents, appointed Umaid 'Alí its governor and returned to his own country.

17th Ramazán 971 H.

A little antecedent to the events in Kábul which have been narrated, an incident occurred in Dihlí which was intimately connected with the rebellion of Sharafuddín and Abul Ma'álí and which, if a propitious fate had not watched over the person of the

* This clever woman of the Kipshak tribe, as the authorities testify, had her husband so much under her control, that he did nothing without her advice

Emperor, might have wrought the utmost disaster to India. When Sharafuddín slipped away from Dihlí, he left behind a devôted slave named Qutlugh Fúlád whom he had commissioned to murder Akbar whenever feasible. The wretch had long to wait an opportunity but it came at last when Akbar was passing through the bázár on his return from hunting and Qutlugh Fúlád shot an arrow from the roof of the College of Máhum Anagah. It struck the Emperor in the shoulder and made a slight wound but Akbar was able himself to withdraw it and to continue his route to the palace.

It was not long before his life was again imperilled. Khwájah Mu'azzam, the brother of Hamída Bánú Begum had repeatedly aroused his nephew's anger by dishonourable conduct. He lived in a state of continual contention with his wife Zuhra A'gha, a daughter of one Fátima who had belonged to Humáyún's harem, and he even threatened her life. Fátima implored the Emperor to protect her daughter against the passionate Khwájah and Akbar therefore took occasion when a hunting expedition brought him into the neighbourhood of Dihlí, to visit his uncle with the object of using his personal influence for the domestic peace. He sent messengers to announce his intended visit but his interference only contributed to excite the husband's anger to the highest pitch. Just as Akbar was entering the house, the Khwájah in a fit of passion stabbed the unfortunate woman and flung the bloody knife, as if in challenge, down into the courtyard amongst the royal retinue. Overborne by anger, Akbar straightway entered and only by the intervention of the by-standers, was saved from being cut down on the threshold by one of

the house-slaves. The Khwájah was condemned to be drowned in the Jamnah and was, together with his associates, bound hand and foot and thrown into the river. As he did not drown, Akbar sent him to the fortress of Gwáliár where he ended his life, insane. Thus had the Emperor happily escaped all the dangers which had hitherto threatened his life. The strength of character which these incidents had confirmed, was soon to be proved in the difficult circumstances of the great rebellion of Jaunpúr.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REBELLION OF JAUNPÚR. 'ALÍ QULÍ KHÁN.

Two years have passed since the death of Máhum Anagah. The still youthful Emperor,—he had just entered upon his 25th year,—had hitherto shewn more inclination for hunting, for friendly talk with learned men and for pious pilgrimages than for any complete assumption of the conduct of government. It was consequently inevitable that his grandees should lose sight of their duty towards the throne and should devote their energies rather to the advancement of their own interests than of those of the Emperor and the State. Many of them had fought in Bábar's victorious armies; had shared, with more or less fidelity, Humáyún's changeful fortunes; and by their services had established claims to reward and consideration which could not be overlooked when the Indian supremacy of the Chagátáïs was restored. Besides the clansmen of the royal house there were amongst the chiefs a number of soldiers of fortune of various origin who were held together by the bond of common interest, though often enough mutually jealous and quarrelsome. Their relation to the throne of Dihlí was not unlike that of the barons and margraves towards the sovereigns of the European Middle Ages and some individuals among them might fairly be compared with the knights of old. Like them, they were great lords in the full

sense of the words ; valiant warriors, daring partisans ; covetous, ambitious and ostentatious, yet often, in spite of their warlike pursuits, not lacking in elegant culture. Guided by their deserts and the dictates of policy, Humáyún and Akbar apportioned to them the highest offices—the governments of the several provinces of the empire together with the military commands attaching to them. If it was desired to bestow on a grandee a mark of special favour, he was entrusted with the government of a rich province ; if to confer a token of distinction, he received a court appointment or in the case of a tried soldier, a commission to guard the marches against hostile neighbours. As the government had not yet been organised on the definite principles which obtained in later years, powerful chiefs did not lack opportunity to pursue private ends. The majority of provincial governors comported themselves like veritable satraps and few resisted the temptation held out by their office to strive for independence. In Adham Khán, after he had expelled the Patháns from Málwah, we have had an example of the height to which the presumption of an undutiful vassal could soar. 'Abdullah, the later Governor of Málwah and to whom its reconquest had been entrusted after the death of Pír Muhammad, had, it is true, by his tried bravery speedily brought it again under the imperial sceptre but he too presumed on his victory and to quote the words of a chronicler 'ruled in Mandú like a king.'

Pír Muhammad, as has been stated, had in the first instance been associated as counsellor with the son of Máhum Anagah and as such had vainly endeavoured to persuade him again to submission. On

Adham's recal he had remained in Málwah as its governor. He made many expeditions for conquest across the Narbadah to the contiguous Dak'hin ; gave towns and villages to the sword, slaughtering their inhabitants with unsparing cruelty and at length was attacked by the chief of Asír and Burhánpúr with whom was Báz Bahádur who had lived in those districts since his expulsion from Málwah. At the time of the attack, Pír Muhammad's soldiers were laden with booty and straggling in disorder ; they were consequently defeated and their leader compelled to flee in the direction of Mandú. He reached the Narbadah at night and had plunged into its waters when a camel struck against and bit his horse. He was thrown and found a pitiful death. "By way of water," says Badáoní, "he went to fire ; and the sighs of orphans, "poor wretches and captives prepared quarters for "him." Other chiefs of the empire who were with him, judging that Málwah was lost, returned to the court while Báz Bahádur marched triumphantly into his old capital. Akbar however, was in no way inclined to leave the province to the Patháns, he imprisoned those *amírs* who had fled from Málwah to Agrah without permission and despatched in their stead 'Abdullah Khán with almost unlimited powers to act against Bahádur. 'Abdullah belonged to the renowned and wide-spread tribe of the Uzbaks, many chiefs of which had joined the Indian expeditions of the Timurids notwithstanding the hereditary antagonism between their branch of the Mughul Túrks and the Chagátáïs. 'Abdullah arrived in Málwah at the close of 1562, expelled Báz Bahádur a second time and assumed the government,

969 H.

after which the auxiliary *amírs* returned to their own *jágírs*. As however his subsequent conduct excited distrust, Akbar determined to pursue with him the course he adopted on many other similar occasions and induce a return to duty by his personal presence.

12th Zí-l ka'da 971 H. Accordingly, under the pretext of elephant hunting, he moved towards Narwar, on 22nd June 1564. On hearing of the royal march, 'Abdullah fled. Akbar sent Muqím Khán "to reassure and advise him" but 'Abdullah believed the Khán's true purpose was to detain him until the royal army should come up and the envoy returned to his master without effecting his object. This roused Akbar's anger and he resolved to enforce submission by the sword. As 'Abdullah's troops were worsted in several engagements and as moreover some of his most faithful friends fell in battle, he lost heart and leaving his harem and his baggage in the lurch fled to Gujrát, accompanied only by his young son. Akbar came up only when the whole affair was decided; he took possession of 'Abdullah's deserted camp and sent a request to Chingiz Khán, the ruler of Gujrát, asking that he would deliver up the fugitive or at least afford him no further protection. Chingiz Khán chose the latter alternative and 'Abdullah first turned again towards Málwah under close pursuit, and then took refuge with his kinsman 'Alí Qulí Khán, in Jaunpúr where he died in the course of a few years.

By the tribesmen of 'Abdullah, Akbar's severity towards him was referred to hereditary enmity against the Uzbaks. All the chiefs of this tribe therefore, of whom the principal 'Alí Qulí, the *Khán-zamán*, * Bahádur his brother, and Iskandar and Ibráhím his cousin and

* A military title meaning Lord of the world. Trs.

uncle, were stationed as governors and commanders in the east of the empire, viewed the measures of the young Emperor with a certain mistrust and their suspicions were heightened by the fact that their allegiance to the reigning house had already so frequently shewn itself wavering. Even in the time of Adham Khán, 'Alí Qulí had shewn the quality of his allegiance when, on the occasion of a brilliant victory over the Patháns of Bengal, he sent none of the loot to the Emperor but as Adham had done, behaved as though conquering for his sole advantage. The necessity of dealing with Adham had obliged the Emperor to postpone the task of bringing 'Alí Qulí back to duty but he entered upon it immediately on his return from Málwah. This expedition ended pacifically because 'Alí Qulí and his brother wisely bethought themselves and met Akbar near Karah on the Ganges with gifts of elephants and other booty taken from the Patháns. Amicable as was this solution of the difficulty, the Emperor might well say to himself that it would be advisable to withdraw such formidable subjects from remote governments where supported by their clansmen, they were free to act, and by conferring on them appointments at court to keep them in his immediate presence. With this end in view, he commissioned Ashraf Khán, his Chief Secretary (*mír munshí*,) to go to 'Agrah and fetch Iskandar, the *jágírdár* of Audh, of whom a chronicler says that he was "a rebel from want of occupation." Iskandar penetrated Akbar's design and ostensibly fell in with it but made it a condition that the royal envoy should accompany him to Ibráhím, 'Alí Qulí's uncle, "for" said he, "Ibráhím Khán is a "much greater man than I and he is in this neighbour-"hood ; the best thing we can do is to go to him and get

"him to acquiesce in your demand, we will then go to "court together." The negociations begun in Audh were continued in Sarharpúr, Ibráhim's *jágír*, with an entirely similar result, the two *amírs* determining to take counsel with their powerful and influential kinsman, 'Alí Qulí. To Jaunpúr accordingly they journeyed, carrying with them the imperial messenger. As the *mír munshí* must have anticipated, 'Ali Qulí was not in the least disposed to quit his secure position and unreservedly to place himself and his kinsmen in the Emperor's power; he detained the *mír munshí* and raised the standard of open rebellion, sending Ibráhím and Iskandar to Lak'hnau while he himself and his brother, Bahádur remained in Jaunpúr. At first fortune appeared to favour the rebels, for they repulsed the loyal *jágírdárs* who had attacked in insufficient force. Some of these, pressed by Ibráhim and Iṣkandar, threw themselves into Namíkhá and Majnún Khán Qáqshál, although reinforced by the Governor of Garha, A'çaf Khán, was unable to sustain the attack of 'Alí Qulí and retired into Karah Mánikpúr. The loyal *jágírdárs* now reported their position to Akbar and asked for aid. In response, the Emperor sent Mu'nim Khán in advance, delaying his own march for a few days in order to complete the preparations requisite for suppressing this formidable insurrection. He joined Mu'nim near Kanauj and they were here detained 10 days by the height of the river, Iskandar spending the interim in Lak'hnau "unappalled at the approach of the army." The passage of the Ganges was at length effected and Akbar moved so rapidly northwards that he stood after a night and day at the gates of Lak'hnau. Aroused from his careless indifference, Iskandar abandoned the

town and owing to the fatigue of the horses of Akbar's troops escaped with Ibráhím without molestation. They effected a junction with 'Alí Qulí and Bahádur who upon the news brought by them of the Emperor's approach retreated, first to Jaunpúr and later across the Ganges by the ferry of Narhan. Akbar now marched up from Lak'hnau and encamped in the vicinity of Jaunpúr where he was joined by A'çaf Khán.

12th Zí-l hijja 972 H. On Friday, 11th July 1565, he entered the citadel of Jaunpúr and detatched A'çaf Khán to cross the Ganges and confront 'Alí Qulí on its opposite bank. Hereupon 'Alí Qulí schemed to divide Akbar's troops by sending Bahádur and Iskandar to Sarwár* to stir up a fresh insurrection; to oppose which movement Akbar despatched Mír Mu'iz-ul-mulk. Meantime a change favourable to the rebels had occurred in that division of the royal army which was confronting the Khán-zamán at Narhan, for A'çaf Khán was superseded in command by Mu'nim Khán who was bound by the ties of long-standing friendship to 'Alí Qulí and who now made use of his position to effect a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of his old friend. During four or five months military operations were suspended, and at length, the Emperor commissioned Khwájah Jahán and Darbár Khán to ascertain whether this long truce was in his interests. 'Alí Qulí tried to come to an understanding with the new envoys also and arranged a conference which was held in boats in the middle of the river and at which he let himself be found prepared to submit to the Emperor. He subsequently sent his mother and Ibráhím Khán, to convey to Akbar a present of several elephants and, by the intercession

* Blochmann 381, note.

of Mu'nim Khán, to obtain pardon. On this occasion* the aged Ibráhím appeared with uncovered head and with a sword and a shroud round his neck. Mu'nim Khán endeavoured to incline the Emperor to mercy by recalling to him the invaluable services of the Uzbak chiefs and by making prominent the fact that next to Bairám Khán it was to 'Alí Qulí that the restoration of the Chagátáï sovereignty was due. "When "this old servant" says Nizámuddín Ahmad, "thus be- "sought forgiveness for past offences with a face full of "hope, the Emperor, out of the kindness he felt for "Khán-khánán, said, 'For your sake, I forgive their "'offences but I am not satisfied that they will remain "'faithful.' Khán-khánán then inquired what the order "was as regards their *jágírs* and his Majesty replied, "As I have pardoned their offences, what question can "there be about their *jágírs*, but so long as I remain in "this neighbourhood, they must not come over the river. "When I return to the capital, they must see their "*vakíls* there and new *farmáns* for their *jágírs* shall "then be issued, under which they may take possession." Mu'nim Khán, greatly rejoiced at the success of his intervention, at once sent the good news to 'Alí Qulí's mother, who for her part, despatched messengers to her son Bahádur, urging him not to let slip this favourable opportunity of reconcilation but together with Iskandar to make prompt submission. They followed her counsel and furnished forth a suppliant embassy to convey an offering of two elephants and to entreat forgiveness. They did this notwithstanding the fact that they had

* Elliot V, 304.

just obtained a victory over the imperialists near Khairábád. They had indeed, before the engagement, been inclined to peace but Mu'iz-ul-Mulk was of opinion that their offences could be expiated only by the sword and he was encouraged in his zeal for battle by Todar Mall who with Lashkar Khán had been sent to his aid, for, as Badáoní says, "Mu'iz-ul-Mulk was all fire and flame "and Rájah Todar Mall poured on oil and naptha." It so chanced that the victorious Bahádur's petition for pardon arrived at the court almost simultaneously with the report of the discomfited imperialist commanders who had paid for undue zeal by defeat. Akbar pardoned the suppliant and recalled his generals.

Internal quiet seemed now again restored but it was a peace of brief duration for, as simultaneously with the intelligence of his pardon, 'Alí Qulí received that of the success of his confederates in Audh, he repented his submission and forthwith violated the condition of peace by crossing the Ganges, then marched northwards to Muhammadábád and caused Jaunpúr and Gházípúr to be occupied. News of this breach of the peace was brought to Akbar when on his way from Jaunpúr, *viâ* Benares, to inspect the important fortress of Chunár which its Pathán commander had shortly before surrendered to A'çaf Khán. According to Nizámuddín Ahmad, the Emperor could not refrain from expressing his displeasure to the Khán-khánán to whom he had already intimated his doubts as to the fidelity of the rebels. "'No sooner had I "quitted this neighbourhood, than 'Alí Qulí Khán broke "the conditions of his pardon.' The Khán-khánán "looked mortified and endeavoured to make excuse."

Akbar moved with all speed to chastise his faithless

vassal. 'Alí Qulí did not await his approach but fled from the banks of the Sarú to the Sewáliks. The Emperor could not follow him because he just then received the news that Bahádur and Iskandar had again rebelled, had laid Benares and Jaunpúr under contribution and were planning a descent upon his own camp. The insurrection had been renewed in the following manner: as soon as 'Alí Qulí had broken his engagement, Akbar ordered the *mír munshí* Ashraf Khán, to seize and keep prisoner his mother who was still in Jaunpúr; Bahádur, hearing of this at once hastened to her release and not only succeeded in effecting it but also captured Ashraf Khán. The Emperor then advanced on Jaunpúr and Bahádur and Iskandar retreated across the Ganges by the ferry of Narhan. Akbar sent after them a pursuing party to whom he gave definite orders not to halt until the rebels had been fittingly chastised. When the news of these various occurrences reached 'Alí Qulí, he came down from the hills into the Ganges valley and sent one of his trusty adherents, Mírzá Mubárak Rizwí, to Múnim Khán in order if possible to work once more upon the Emperor's clemency. Aided by the intercession of the Khán-khánán and other influential nobles, the messenger succeeded in moving the Emperor again to forgiveness; with great generosity; he pardoned 'Alí Qulí and sent three grandees both to reprove him and to convey to him the tidings of his pardon as well as to take from him a renewed oath of fidelity. Quiet being thus restored Akbar turned towards Agrah, in the early part of the eleventh year of his reign, and with his court arrived in the capital on the 26th March 1566.

5th Ramazán 973 H.

In the following year there was another outbreak. 'Alí Qulí and his confederates raided on all the surrounding country and caused the *khuṭbah* to be read in the name of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím.* At this time,

21st Ramazán 974 H.

Akbar was at Láhor but started for Agrah on 22nd March 1567, where he heard that the *Khán-zamán* was besieging Shergarh, a fort some eight miles from Kanauj and in which Mírzá Yúsuf Khán was then in confinement. Leaving Múnim Khán to protect the capital, he marched again on 3rd May 1567 for

23rd Shawal 974 H.

Jaunpúr. When he had proceeded as far as the *parganа* of Sakít, 'Alí Qulí

* It has already been said that Muhammad Hakím asked help against Abdul Ma'álí from Sulaimán of Badakhshán (ante, 103) and that Sulaimán married his daughter to the prince and left his confidant Umaid 'Alí as *vakil* in Kábul. When however Sulaimán had returned to his own country, Muhammad wearied of tutelage and expelled his adherents, thereupon Sulaimán led a large army against him who, on his side, placed Báqí Qáqshál in command of Kábul and marched by Jalálábád and Pesháwar to the Indus whence he despatched a letter to Akbar urgently praying him for help against his father-in-law. The Emperor ordered the *amírs* of the Panjáb to take the field against Sulaimán who had meantime marched to Kabul. Upon hearing of Akbar's order, Sulaimán hastened back to Badakhshán and Muhammad Hakím, under the protection of the royal *amírs* returned to his capital and again assumed the government. Hardly however had the imperial troops quitted Kábul to return to Hindústán than Sulaimán, accompanied by his wife, Churram Begum, marched in force to make a fresh attempt on Kábul. This was in the eleventh year of the reign. Mírzá Muhammad Hakím left one of his trusty followers, Ma'çúm Kokah in charge of the capital and led a division of his army into the valley of the Ghorband. He was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Khwájah Hasan Naqshbandí to whom he had recently married his sister, Fakhrunnisá Begum, the widow of Abul Ma'álí. Sulaimán was not in a position to take Kábul and therefore sought to get the prince into his power by craft. He sent his wife to the Ghorband and the wily woman succeeded in persuading Muhammad Hakím to arrange an interview with her. In hot haste, she put her husband in possession of the result of her mission and advised him to hurry in force to Karábágh, the appointed place of meeting, in order to surprise and seize Muhammad Hakím. By a lucky accident the latter heard that his treacherous father-in-law was lying in ambush and thus obtained time to save himself

decamped from before Shergarh and fled to join Bahádur in Mánikpúr. Akbar followed and at the same time despatched Muhammad Qulí Khán Birlás, Rájah Todar Mall and other commanders with nearly 6,000 horse against Iskandar in Audh. In Rái Barelí he learned that 'Alí Qulí and Bahádur had withdrawn to the west, across the Ganges in the direction of Kalpí.*

by flight: He again journeyed past Jalálábád to the Indus and again sent to ask aid from Akbar who however before the arrival of his brother's messenger, had despatched Farídún Khán, a brother of Máh Júyak Begum to reinforce Muhammad Hakím. The traitorous Farídún used the opportunity of his mission to incite the Mírzá to rebellion against the Emperor, representing to him that it would be easy to conquer Láhor and then, with the help of the revolted Uzbaks, to mount the throne of Dihlí. He went so far as to suggest that Muhammad Hakím should seize the herald who had brought Akbar's reply to his supplication for help and Akbar's gifts but, although the Mírzá had listened to incitements to rebellion, he was too honourable to lay hands on a herald. He let him depart unhindered but marched without delay towards Láhor. The loyal *amírs* of the Panjáb had received intelligence of the designs formed by Muhammad Hakím and had placed Láhor in a posture of defence. Several times the Mírzá attempted to storm the fort and was each time repulsed by a fire of guns and matchlocks and at length when he heard that Akbar was on the march, retired unsuccessful. On the earliest information of Muhammad Hakím's proceedings, Akbar had started for Láhor, beginning his march 16th Nov. 1566. When he had crossed the Sutlej, he heard that his brother had retreated from before Láhor but he continued his journey and reached the fort in the month of Rajab (January-February). He sent Qutbuddín Khán and Kamál Khán Gakk'har in pursuit of the retreating Mírzá but they returned in a short time on finding that he had crossed the Indus and thus left the imperial territory. Unsuccessful as Muhammad Hakím had been at Láhor, his affairs had taken in Kábul a more favourable turn in so far that Sulaimán who had retraced his steps thither after the failure of his ambush in Karábágh had been compelled to raise the siege by the bold and watchful defence of Ma'çúm Kokah and by the growing severity of the weather. As soon as Muhammad Hakím heard that Sulaimán had concluded a peace with Ma'çúm Kokah and had withdrawn to Badakhshán he hastened back to Kábul and re-entered his capital.

3rd Jumádá II, 974 H.

* Firishtah says that, in retiring to Málwah, the rebels intended to ally themselves with the kings of the Dak'hin or to join forces with the sons of Muhammad Sultán Mírzá and Ulúgh Mírzá who were then, as will be narrated, in rebellion against the Emperor. Briggs II, 227.

He therefore sent on his camp to Karah under charge of Khwájah Jahán and himself hastened to the ferry of Mánickpúr in order to provoke a decisive battle. On the very night of his arrival at the ferry, he crossed the river on an elephant and, accompanied by 1,000 to 1,500 picked soldiers, bivouacked in a grove of acacias. As no intimation of his presence had reached the rebels who thought they were threatened merely by a few *jágírdárs*, they with all the arrogance of presumed security, passed the night in a dissolute carouse but before the fumes of their wine were dissipated, the royal drums sounded in their ears. Although at first hardly crediting this evidence of the Emperor's vicinity, they were not long in perceiving that the crisis of their fate was at hand. Akbar allowed no time for preparation; he attacked at once. He placed Majnún Khán who was familiar with the locality, in command of the left wing; to A'çaf Khán he gave the right because he, in conjunction with Majnún Khán had as governor of Garha been already opposed to 'Alí Qulí and had moreover special reason for hating the Uzbaks.* He himself led the centre,

* After he had received from the Emperor the commission to cross the Ganges at Narhan and attack 'Alí Qulí (page 111.) A'çaf Khán incurred the royal suspicion and fled for his life to his brother Vazír Khán. Having tried in vain to effect a reconciliation with the Emperor he took refuge from the close pursuit of the imperialists with the Khán-zamán in Jaunpúr. He soon had reason to repent his choice of an asylum, because, 'Alí Qulí designed to rob him of his wealth and to put him out of the way at the first opportunity. A'çaf therefore tried to escape. On one occasion, at the command of 'Alí Qulí, Bahádur carried him with him in an expedition against the Afgháns and Vazír Khán sent a messenger after him to beg him to try to escape as he himself intended. A'çaf Khán accordingly left all his baggage and property behind and took the road to Karah Mánickpúr. His absence was remarked and although he had travelled some 60 miles during the first night, Bahádur overtook and captured him between Jaunpúr and

mounted on an elephant named Bálsundar and accompanied in his *haudah* by his early playfellow and friend, 'Azíz Kokah, the son of the murdered Shamsuddín. Later on, as the fight grew fiercer, he mounted a charger. Although by his daring passage of the river, the Emperor had been able to take the rebels at unawares, it was no light task to make himself their master. Once assured that it was really he who confronted them, they braced themselves to the utmost effort and resolved at least to sell their lives sword in hand, as dearly as possible. Their gallant resistance was however fruitless, misfortune dogged their every step. They made a desperate onslaught on Akbar's van which was under Bábá Khán Qáqshál but were repulsed ; in the course of the attack the horse of a fugitive trooper collided with that of 'Alí Qulí and the rebel general's turban fell from his head. This accident was regarded as an omen of ill and created discouragement; Bahádur marked the change of mood, strove to rally his divisions to a bold charge and, flinging himself upon Bábá Khán's advance guard, forced it back upon the ranks of Majnún Khán. In the heat of pursuit, he got between the divisions of these two leaders; he fought bravely but his horse being wounded by an arrow, he was thrown and made prisoner, Nazar Bahádur placing him upon the croup of

Mánickpúr. He was thrown bound into a *haudah*. Unexpectedly, Vazír Khán came up and as Bahádur could not defend his prisoner, he ordered the helpless Açaf to be forthwith put to death. Açaf received a sword cut on the nose and had three fingers hacked off but nevertheless escaped with his life, for his brother fought his way through and rescued him. The two then made their way to Karah Mánickpúr and after Vazír, by the intercession of Muzaffar Khán had obtained an interview with the Emperor who was at the time in the field at Láhor against Muhammad Hakím, they were pardoned. Açaf Khán was ordered to join Majnún Khán Qáqshál at Karah Mánickpúr and with him to push forward against the rebels.

his own horse and so taking him into the Emperor's presence. When asked what had induced him to rebel he attempted no excuse but exclaimed enthusiastically, "Praise be to God, that he has preserved me once more to see your Majesty's countenance." * Akbar ordered him into safe-keeping but some of the *ámírs*, without waiting for authorization put him to death. A short time after the capture of Bahádur, the head of 'Alí Qulí was brought in. He had received an arrow-wound at a time when Akbar had ordered elephants to be let loose upon the enemy and while endeavouring to draw out the weapon, a second arrow struck his horse and he, like his brother, fell helpless to the ground. An elephant came near him ; he called to its driver, "I am "a great man ; if you take me alive to the Emperor, he "will reward you." The *mahout* gave no heed to his words but urged his animal forwards and the famous general was miserably trampled underfoot. A soldier who was hurrying past struck off his head but a second snatched it from his hold because Akbar had set a price on every head—a gold *muhr* on each Mughul and *a rupí* on each Hindú.† When the Emperor saw the head of his formidable antagonist, he dismounted and gave God thanks for his victory. Thus were the most dangerous enemies of the empire made powerless for ever. Abul Fazl says that the heads of 'Alí Qulí and Bahádur were stuffed

* Firishtah. Briggs II, 228.

† Abul Fazl says, "persons acquainted with the countenance of 'Alí "Qulí being appointed to inspect the heads which were brought in numbers "by the soldiery, one was identified to be that of 'Alí Qulí Khán for the "moment it was shown, a Hindú standing among the captives who had been a "favoured servant of the deceased, no sooner cast his eyes upon it than a "deep sigh instantly escaped from his breast and involuntarily rushing for-"ward, he clasped it to his bosom, thus confirming the assertion that the "wretch had met with the end he had so well deserved." Chalmers I, 508-9.

with sweet scented herbs and shewn as admonitory examples in A'grah, Dihlí and Multán.* After this decisive engagement which was fought at Sakrawál,† on Monday, 9th June 1567, the Emperor moved to Banáras which, as having closed its gates against him, he gave over to the plunder of his troops. Thence he proceeded to Jaunpúr whither he summoned Mu'nim Khán whom he invested with the governments and *jágírs* of the dead Uzbaks. These included Jaunpúr, Banáras, Gházípúr together with the fort of Chunár and the government of Zamániya as far as the ferry of Chausá and they were granted upon the condition of guarding the eastern frontier of the empire towards Bengal. In the same month, Akbar set out for A'grah where he arrived in July 1567. During these occurrences on the south bank of the Ganges, Iskandar had been attacked in Audh and hard-pressed by Todar Mall and other imperial generals. By feigning a desire to negociate, he made his escape and fled before his pursuers eastward into the Pathán country. As the Mughul commanders could not follow him beyond the frontier without special permission from the Emperor they reported the state of affairs and in reply were told that as the rebel had left the imperial territories it was unnecessary to pursue him further. His dignities and *jágírs* were transferred to Muhammad Qulí Khán Birlás.

1st Zí-l hijja, 974 H.

* Chalmers I, 509. Firishtah, (Briggs II., 228,) says that they were sent into the Panjáb and to Kábul. Nizámuddín Ahmad. (Elliot V, 321-2,) mentions only that they were taken to A'grah.

† Badáoní calls the place Mungarwál; Nizámuddín Ahmad says "the "battle was fought at the village of Mankarwál, one of the dependencies of "Josí and Payág, now known as Iláhábás." (Alláhábád.)

Akbar never demanded more victims than were imperative for the undiminished maintenance of his power. Thus when the murder of his Atgah had been expiated by the deaths of Máhum Anagah and her guilty son, he allowed no more bloodshed but forgave Mu'nim Khán and the other conspirators. When his thoughtless brother Muhammad Hakím rebelled, he recalled his generals as often as Muhammad withdrew across the Indus; during the Uzbak rebellion, he desisted from military operations whenever the rebels manifested an intention of again acknowledging his supremacy and now when the insurrection was quelled, he held his injured dignity sufficiently satisfied by the death of the ringleaders, for whom he may indeed have felt great personal regret. He was not so vindictive as to seek to deprive Iskandar of his refuge among the eastern Pathán and he forgave all adherents of the revolted Uzbaks so soon as they had testified repentance by submission. The refractory however who strove to create further disturbance, he had publicly trampled under foot by elephants in Jaunpúr, in spite of the opposition of his provost-marshal. He would assuredly have been willing to pardon even the Khán-zamán, if his supremacy had not been at stake. Had circumstances willed it that 'Alí Qulí should not have been removed from court by his personal enemy, Pír Muhammad but, in place of Mu'nim Khán have become regent and guardian, there is little doubt that the throne of Dihlí would have received from him support as faithful and as unwavering as that of his great predecessor, for if he, as prime minister, could have kept Akbar in subjection, his impulse to fidelity would have been as strong as in his eastern government was his impulse to rebel, in

order to win by his sword the position and influence which the caprice of fortune had denied him. Had he however been prime minister, the world would probably have heard nothing further of Akbar, for his circumspect guardian would have advised him into oblivion or, if he had proved insufficiently docile, would have supplanted him by some other member of the house of Timur. This reflection finally determined Akbar to proceed unrelentingly against the old servants and comrades of his house ; he resolved to put down every revolt without delay ; general sedition had no terror for him ; he pressed boldly forward at the head of his army and stamped rebellion under foot. He had courage for the task and neither faltered nor fainted, because he felt himself capable and, as Montesquieu truly says, 'Le courage est le sentiment des propres forces',—courage is the perception of one's powers.

* Firishtah. Briggs II,229. Nizámuddín Ahmad. Elliot V, 322, note 3.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF AKBAR AND HIS FOREFATHERS.

WHEN we say that Akbar, as is every man, was the child of his century, we mean that he, as little as another, was able to avoid the influences of circumstances. Nevertheless, he was among the few who as life goes on, rise above those influences and to whom it is therefore given to impress their age with the stamp of their personality. Many years have however yet to pass before our young ruler can touch such height of political power and intellectual ascendancy. Born during the flight of his dethroned and homeless father among the sand-hills of Amarkót; separated from his parents when barely a year and a half old and thrown into the hands of unfriendly kinsmen, he, even in his tender infancy, was the sport of the passions which raged around him. Exposed repeatedly to the enemy's fire in the tumult of war and in wild scenes of revolt, eight years of his childhood were crowded with hardship and danger as great as can well chance in one life. For these reasons he was not spoiled, preferred and indulged as are so many who are born in the purple; it was not possible to shelter him from every breeze, every contact with the outer world, like a fragile flower in a hot-house; the originally delicate child therefore instead of prematurely fading and languishing, developed into a vigorous and active boy, brimming with gaiety and mettle. If the hardships of a school of suffering and

deprivation teach nothing more, they give at least the compensation of tempering and refining the pupil who possesses vitality and staying power. Full and sagacious as are the records of the historians of Akbar's time in matters of policy and war, they are scanty and disconnected in all that relates to his education. Abul Fazl alone mentions that he received his first instruction in his fifth year and after the ceremony of his circumcision.*

"When according to custom the age of this prince had reached four "years, four months and four days (which happened on the 7th Shawál
953 H. "of this year) he was first brought into
1546 A.D. "the school of human knowledge and Máuláná "A'zamuddín was selected as his tutor. The Emperor Humáyún who "was skilled in astrology had fixed the lucky moment for the commence- "ment of his education. When however the hour arrived the prince had "concealed himself in a frolic and was nowhere to be found—an event "interpreted by the wise to portend that his skill in human affairs "should be acquired by supernatural means and that the wisdom of his "reign might be clearly understood to spring from his innate genius— "not from acquired habits of instruction or study. To be brief how- "ever, as Akbar learned nothing from his first preceptor, Mauláná "Báyazíd was after some time appointed to replace him for it was not "yet understood that it was ordained by Providence that he should "receive no sublunary instruction." †

Later on we are informed that Mu'nim Khán was appointed to prepare the prince for his sovereign office, by training him in the deportment befitting his position, in the use of arms, in riding, in the management of the bow and lance, the sword and matchlock. Owing to the unfavourable circumstances of his youth, it was hardly possible for his education, properly so called, to be regularly carried on but his intellectual training was by no means neglected and was the object of the solicitude of the then all-powerful Regent, his guardian.

* Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V, 223.
† Chalmers I, 185-6.

Bairám did not rest content with instructing his ward in the art of government, of wielding kingly power and in all the exterior requisites of his high calling but aimed at teaching other things ; for he himself, together with military and political capacity was endowed with a keen appreciation of knowledge and culture. Born in Badakhshán, he had on the death of his father, Saif 'Alí Beg, betaken himself to Balkh,* a city long renowned as the seat of Persian scholarship and had there acquired general education and adopted the free modes of thought of the Shí'ahs ; there too his poetic talent took form in numerous songs.† Like his dead master, Humáyún, he loved to surround himself with cultivated and scholarly men, in intercourse with whom he found such recreation and entertainment as was allowed by the brief leisure of his stirring and active life. During his regency, the Chagátáï court at Dihlí was the gathering place of all men of worth and intelligence from adjacent countries and afforded an asylum denied by their wild confusion and desolating unrest, for the fostering and development of science.‡ From these refugees, the cautious Regent selected Mír Abdul Latíf of Kazwín as tutor for his young ward, an honoured

* Bibliothèque Orientale, D'Herbelot. 1777. I, 356-7 ; The Book of Sir Marco Polo ; Col. Henry Yule. Lond. 1871. I, 142, *et seq.*; Le livre de Marco Polo. M. G. Pauthier. Paris 1865. 108 *et seq.*

† Blochmann, 315 *et seq.* ; Elliot V, 215, Note.

‡ The rise of the Safí sovereignty in Persia caused bloody revolutions and devastating wars; for Sháh Ismá'íl whom political considerations prompted to declare himself a zealous Shí'ah, was on this account not only impelled to a base persecution within his kingdom but also became entangled in a wearisome war with Salím I, Sulṭan of Turkey. Moreover he had hard fighting with the Uzbaks of Transoxania whose great leader Shaibaní disputed Khorásán with him for many years ; his reign therefore was filled with manifold disturbance, massacres and battles. An historical and descriptive account of Persia. James B. Frazer, Edin. 1834, 8vo. 238 and 338. The history of Persia, Sir J. Malcolm. Lond. 1829. 8vo. I, 324-26.

scholar who had fled from his home to escape the imprisonment which threatened him because his father had fallen under the suspicion of his patron, Sháh Ṭahmásp of Persia, the son and successor of Sháh Ismá'íl. At Humáyún's invitation he had come to India and had been received with distinction and in the second year of Akbar's reign, he was appointed tutor to the young sovereign.* His pupil could neither read nor write† but soon took pleasure in studying mystic *ghazels* with his erudite master and in repeating from memory the the odes of Háfiz.

First impressions are so usually the most permanent that even without the reiterated evidence of Abul Fazl, there would be little room for doubt that the Emperor owed much of his later enlightenment and toleration to the early teaching of the generous minded tutor whose chosen motto was "Peace with all." Abdul Latíf's theological views were so moderate and so impartial that he passed "in Persia for a Sunní and in Hindústán for a Shí'ah."‡ Probably truth lay in neither estimate of his opinions for his spirit was proud and unfettered; it rose boldly and independently above all

* Blochmann, 447; Elliot V, 259.

† Apparently the great ruler never acquired these accomplishments; at all events his son, Jahángír, calls him plainly an *'ami, i. e.* an illiterate person who can neither read nor write, although he at the same time brings it prominently forward that his father, from constantly conversing with learned and clever persons, had acquired general culture and a feeling for the elegancies of poetry and prose such that in this particular few approached him. (Elliot VI, 290.) It by no means follows from the passage of Badáoní quoted below, that Akbar had knowledge either of reading or writing. "His Majesty assembled some learned Hindús and gave "them directions to write an explanation of the Mahábhárat and for several, "nights, he himself devoted his attention to explain the meaning to Naçíb "Khán, so that the Khán might sketch out the gist of it in Persian." (Elliot V, 537 and VI, 290.)

‡ Blochmann, 448, Note 2.

sects and conformed only to the inspirations of conscience and the judgment of a reason unclouded by passion. His sublime precepts fell on fruitful soil, for not only had nature endowed Akbar with the best aptitudes but all his surroundings combined to spur him along the path of knowledge. He ruled a motley variety of peoples, each possessing its own mode of thought, its own creed, language and literature ; he was admonished that if he wished really to govern this multifarious concourse, he must make himself acquainted with its idiosyncrasies.* Moreover besides this teaching, he had before him the brilliant precedent and glorious example of his ancestors.

To most persons the members of the house of Timur are known only as mighty warriors and rulers, yet they have deserved fame no less in departments which are inextricably bound up with the welfare and prosperity of mankind. Few other kingly houses have produced so many men eminent by their personal character and by their worth as promoters of science. Its founder Amír Timur, known in the West as the terrible Tamerlane, bequeathed to his successors another legacy than that of martial glory and sanguinary deeds and Gibbon has assumed the duty of defending the misjudged character of the conqueror of the world.† According to his lights, Timur did much to promote the intellectual culture of the broad lands he swayed. Samarqand

736-807 H.
1336—1405 A.D.

* Annals and antiquities of Rajástán, Tod. Lond. 1829. 4°. I. 322.

† Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Gibbon. Lond. 1821. VIII, Chap. LXI. Also the excellent remarks of Clements Markham, in his translation of the narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the court of Timor, at Samarcand, 1403-6 A.D. Lond., printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1859. 51 *et seq.*

and Bokhárá are especially indebted to him for their later importance as seats of Muhammadan learning. To magnify the glory of his court he sought to attract whatever of art and science the East then possessed. To the stately mosques of his erection, he added richly-endowed academies and for the encouragment of learning, he established many libraries and pious foundations which exist to the present day. His highest delight was to converse with men of intellectual distinction. That he knew how to value poets and scholars is proved by his dealings with Háfiz and Ibn Khaldún. In the course of one of his campaigns, he approached Shiráz and even amidst war and politics, made a point of summóning the former to his presence. Notwithstanding the frank outspokenness of Háfiz, Timur dismissed him with marks of esteem and costly gifts.* The renowned historian, Ibn Khaldún met with similar treatment during Timur's siege of Damascus. He had attached himself to an embassy sent from the city to intercede with Timur and was received with unusual respect. In a long conversation, he surprised the prince by his familiarity with Mughul history. At his intercession,† Timur showed mercy to several prisoners of distinction; he also assured to Ibn Khaldún himself a safe conduct to Egypt and finally sought to

* On this occasion Timur alluded to a verse by Háfiz, in which the poet had had the temerity to say that he would give Samarqand and Bokhárá for the mole on the cheek of his mistress. Timur reminded him that he himself had caused streams of blood to flow for the greater glory of these two cities. The unabashed poet rejoined; "By these glorious deeds of yours, "I have gained only beggary." Biographical Notices of Persian Poets, Sir Gore Ouseley, Lond. 1846, 30.

† Histoire des Berbères par Ibn-Khaldoun, traduite de l'Arabe par M. C. Baron de Slane, Algiers 1852, 8°, I, 56 *et seq.*

persuade him to enter his service. In this he will have been prompted not only by a desire to foster the growth of Arabian science but also because he coveted in the "Montesquieu of the East"* a historian worthy his deeds and his ambition.†

Timur was far indeed from being a religious enthusiast; for this his nature was too cold and too calculating. When, as in his holy war ‡ against Hindústán he made the spread of Islám a pretext for war, it was a mere pretext; the faith of his many subjects was in truth indifferent to him so long as they recognized in himself their one absolute sovereign. § In the 13th century when the then known world was filled with affright by the stream of countless Mughul and Tátár hordes from the Highlands of Asia; when these savage sons of the steppes rendered many a land barren and a place of burning, the motive for their gigantic movement was murder and rapine and not the spread of any religion soever. Moreover it has never been ascertained to what creed the hordes of Chingiz Khán gave their

* Ueber die Länderverwaltung unter den Chalifate. Hammer. Berlin 1835-56. Also his Geschichte Wassaf's, Vienna 1856. I, 2.

† Timur's anxiety to ensure for himself lasting posthumous fame is shown by the circumstance of his causing the daily incidents of his life to be noted down by scholars at his court and by his careful revision of their work from time to time. Elliot III, 390.

‡ Elliot III, 400 *et seq*: Histoire générale des Huns. De Guignes. 4°. Paris. 1758. Vol. IV. Book XX, 57 *et seq*.

§ Timur's attitude towards religion is best shown by the following extract from his memoirs. "I gave free admission into my dominions to Islám, "and I upheld religion. By this I strengthened my government, for experience "shows that church and state hang together and that every government "which is not supported by religion, quickly loses all power and its mandates "command no respect while every man, with or without right, claims to "intermeddle in it." Malfúzát i-Timurí or Autobiographical Memoirs of the Mughal Emperor Timur, trs. by Major Ch. Stewart. 1830. No. 10, p. 5. Institutes of Timur, Joseph White, Oxford, 1783, 4°. 50, 51 and 175 *et seq*.

adherence and it remains an open question whether they were Shamanists or simply fetish worshippers. So much is certain that after the subdivision of the dominions of Chingiz Khán, (1227) precisely those very barbarians who had been a terror to mankind but who had now slaked their lust of blood, adapted themselves to the genius and customs of their more civilized neighbours and subjects and this in a comparatively short period and although they were themselves the dominant race.* Kubilai Khán who died 1294, conquered China and became a thorough Chinese and Buddhist while on the other hand, the Ilchans† and

624 H.

693 H.

* Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme. R. Dozy, traduit du Hollandais, par Victor Chauvin. Leyden, Paris, 1879. 8°. 396 *et seq.* Die lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche. C. F. Köppen. Berlin, 1854. 8°. 85 *et seq.*

† Amongst the Ilchans, Gházán was the most distinguished (1295—1304 A.D.) whose reign fell in the palmy days of this section of Persian history. He was a thoroughly well-instructed man who besides his mother-tongue, the Mughul, not only understood Persian, Arabic, Tibetan, Chinese and even Latin but was conversant with mathematics and natural science. He completed the observatory at Maragha which a grandson of Timur, Ulugh Beg, the first Mughul ruler of Persia had founded in 1259. He visited it in 1300 and on this occasion displayed his perspicuity by solving several problems which had baffled the resident astronomers.

Art and science flourished under his protection. His inclination to a thorough sifting of the history of the Mughuls afforded a powerful stimulus to contemporary historians. In his court lived the masters of oriental history, Wassáf and Rashíduddín, the latter being celebrated as Gházán's Grand Vizier. Here originated their works, grand in plan and in execution and which have become model and patterns for the East. Wassáf's copious and coloured descriptions have procured for him the sobriquet of the Persian Bossuet while Rashíduddín's name is emblazoned for all time. That his contemporaries knew his high worth is proved by the fact that, in his lifetime, a magnificent copy of his works was placed in the newly-founded mosque of Sultánia. This copy was in 10 vols. (each weighing 200 lbs.) which contained in all 3000 leaves and were of the value of some 600,000 ducats.

In other departments Gházán's high gifts and keen perceptions are clearly recognizable. His accession to Muhammadanism, in 1259, shows

Chagátáïs, as also the Uzbaks, accepted from their neighbours the doctrines of Islám.

Although in these transformations the mass of the conquerors remained prone to an unsettled life, it was inevitable that they also should ameliorate their manners, gradually adopt the customs of their subjects and amalgamate with them, so that the term Mughul eventually ceased to include the notion of race. By mingling with the Túrkís they acquired a chivalrous spirit and as their barbarous cunning moderated, somewhat more of integrity ; on the other hand, the inborn religious fervour of the Túrkís became weakened by intercourse with the Mughuls who were relatively indifferent in matters of faith. It could hardly be expected from the destroyers of the Khalífat that when converted to the creed they had so deeply injured they should immediately become impassioned in its cause ;

true political wisdom, for it ensured to him the sincere affection of his Persian subjects. To improve the condition of his country, he entered into commercial relations with foreign states and erected gigantic buildings which provided a livelihood to many of his subjects and conferred lasting glory on himself. Of these buildings the best known is his own gigantic monument in the Schenb Gházán suburb of Tabríz which, besides the actual mausoleum, contains a series of buildings for benevolent objects, for popular merry makings, etc :. Gházán believed that it was his vocation to promote the general welfare of his subjects. Unimportant as it may appear, it was nevertheless a definite step taken towards polished culture when he, in 1297, introduced the Túrkí turban in place of the leathern cap of the Mughuls. With indefatigable zeal he effected a complete re-modelling of his State ; penetrating the minutest details of the administration ; nothing could escape his sharp scrutiny. He made regulations for falconers and grooms ; issued special orders about the seals and papers of state ; with great skill reformed the army, the administration of justice, posting arrangements, coinage, weights and measures, trade and agriculture. From his time dates the so-called Gházání era which opened, March 14th 1302. Geschichte der Ilchâne, in Persien. Hammer-Purgstall. Darmstadt. 1843, II, 27-29, 68, 98, 147, 149, 150-1, 152, 153, 157, 164-6. Wassáfs Geschichte. Hammer-Purgstall. Vienna. 1856. I, ii, 95-6.

13th Rajab 701.

they therefore did not reject alliance with Christian princes and popes against the Sulṭán of Egypt and other scattered Abassid rulers who had survived the fall of the Khalífat.*

For the successors of Timur the one supreme question was the preservation of his empire but, as dissension was not wanting amongst them, his wide dominions fell asunder almost as rapidly as they had accreted and his rule endured only in the lands along the Oxus, in Samarqand, Bokhárá, Khwárazm, Khorásún and Harát. In Timur's life-time, his fourth son, Mírzá Sháhrukh (died 1447) was appointed governor of Khorásán. Together with natural military aptitude and eminent courage, he early gave proof of possessing the choicest virtues—humanity and a sense of honour. On his father's death and the dethronement of his nephew Khalíl, the son of his elder brother Jaláluddín Míran, there devolved upon him, in addition to his own government of Khorásán, the whole of Transoxania and Khwárazm so that he ruled a territory almost equal in extent to that of his father.†

850 H.

* Geschichte der Islamitischen Völker. Weil. Stuttgart, 1866. p. 387; Mémoires sur les relations politiques des princes Chrétiens avec les empéreurs mongoles. Abel Rémusat. Paris, 1822. The Mughuls did not scruple to contract alliances with ruling-houses of Europe. Noga, the famous leader of the Astrakhan hordes, known especially for his rebellion against Mengo Timur, the third Khán of Kiptshák, married Maria, a natural daughter of Michael Paläologus. Tuktan also was a Christian, the wife of the Ilchán Arghun of Persia, the father of the great Gházán. The Emperor Andronikos, to save himself from Túrkomán raids, gave his sister Maria in marriage to the Ilchán Chodabende, commonly known as "Oldschaitu" the Fortunate. Gibbon l. c. VIII, chap, LXIV, 97. Geschichte der Goldnen Horde, in Kiptshák; Hammer-Purgstall. Pesth. Geschichte der Ilcháne. Hammer-Purgstall. II, 216.

† Memoirs of Bábar, trs. by Leyden and Erskine, 53; Histoire générale des Huns. De Guignes IV, 81-2.

He cherished other aims than the possession of power and the increase of personal glory and bent all his faculties to promote the welfare, the education and the happiness of his subjects. As masterly as a statesman as he was fortunate as a general, he understood how to live at peace with his neighbours and sent forth embassies to the most varied realms for the purpose of promoting commercial relations and pacific intercourse. Through India, China,* Tátáry and even some western countries went his emissaries of peace, gathering knowledge for him, inviting scholars to his court and by well-doing only, spreading the fame of the peace-loving Sháhrukh. It is true that in his seventeenth year, with his own hand † but in his father's name, he struck off in battle the head of the formidable rebel Mançúr; later however he drew his sword at the dictates of necessity only.‡ When he was conferring upon his son, Ulugh Beg the administration of Túrkístán, he said to him; "Know, my son, that the Almighty "has not given us power for our personal profit; "we must show our gratitude to him by sympathy "with all who are unhappy, for God said to David: "'O David! verily we have made thee a viceregent "'upon earth. Judge therefore between men with truth "'and follow not thy passions lest they cause thee to "'err from the way of God.' See that the judges "act up to the law and maintain them in their office "and dignities; protect especially the peasantry; "defend them against the oppressions and the greed

* Chronological retrospect of the principal events of Muhammadan history. Price. Lond. 1821, 4°. III, 522-3 and 537.

† De Guignes 33; Price III, 145.

‡ Price III, 498.

"of the great who lay upon them taxes and all the "burdens of the State.*"

850-853 H.

Ulugh Beg (1447 to 1449) showed himself not unworthy of the noble example and wise counsels of his father. He was a brave soldier though an unlucky general.† His chief effort was directed to the welfare of his subjects. He deserves honour for his encouragement of science; he built the observatory at Samarqand ‡ and compiled the celebrated astronomical tables by which orientals compute time.§

888-937 H.

Bábar (1483—1530) was as pre-eminent for capacity and knowledge as he was famous for valour. He was a man of high culture who from his earliest youth had occupied himself with poetry and science. His often-quoted autobiography is a master-piece which ranks in every respect with similar works in other languages, even of Europe.‖ The perusal of only a few pages is needed to reveal the knightly spirit and generous feeling of this Bayard of the East. Saladín lives in every European mouth; were Bábar as well known none would hesitate to accord the two heroes equal rank. Mírzá Haidar Doghlat, Bábar's brave cousin and comrade of many

* Biographie Universelle Ancienne. Paris. 1813. VII, 621 *et seq.* D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, III, 231 *et seq.*

† De Guignes 84; Price III, 570.

‡ The Observatory was three stories high, at the foot of the Kolík mountain and was furnished with complete astronomical instruments. Memoirs of Báber, 91; Mémoires de Báber, traduits sur le texte djagetaï par A. Pavet de Courteille. Paris 1871. I, 100-1.

§ The radius of the mural quadrant he used was of the height of the Saint Sophia mosque in Constantinople. (18 ft. Trs.)

‖ A letter, itself a model of epistolary style, to his son Humáyún, gives noteworthy and authentic proof of his fine feeling for verbal expression, even in the smallest details. Memoirs of Báber, Erskine, 392.

years who knew him well and who stood at his side and his son, Humáyún's side with unchangeable fidelity, thus describes him in his excellent history, the "Táríkhi Rashídí;"

"He was a prince adorned with various excellencies and distin-
"guished for his admirable qualities. Of all these qualities his genero-
"sity and humanity took the lead. In Túrkí poetry, after Mír 'Alí Shír,
"none equalled him. He has composed a Túrkí *diwán* (collection of
"odes) of extreme elegance and vigour. He wrote a useful treatise on
"Law and Religion which has met with general approbation. He also
"composed a tract on Túrkí prosody, superior in merit to any written
"before on the subject. The Resáleh-i Walídieh of Hazret Ishan he
"versified. His commentaries which he composd in Túrkí, are remark-
"able for their easy and unaffected manner and great purity of style.
"He was also skilled in music and other arts. None of his family before
"him exceeded him in talents and accomplishments; and, in wonderful ex-
"ploits and adventures none of his descendants is soon likely to equal him.*"

937—963. H.

To Humáyún (1530—1556) descended his father's marked predilection for learning and culture. He continued the traditions of his house and loved even in the midst of all his troubles to be surrounded by poets, scholars and authors. It is the opinion of Nizámuddín Ahmad that he was unequalled as an astronomer and mathematician; he possessed also wide geographical information.† He formed an extensive library and even as a fugitive carried with him his librarian and at least a few of his favourite books. When he returned to India and had regained the throne of Dihlí, he caused a library to be arranged in one of the marble palaces of Sher Sháh where he consecrated his leisure to the pursuit of science until overtaken in this favourite retreat by death.

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* History of India. Erskine. Lond. 1854. I, 521.

† Elliot V, 240; Price III, 948; Erskine II, 530; Briggs II, 178.

Following the example of the great Timur, every successive member of his house devoted himself more or less to literature. Timur had compiled his Institutes and had supervised the chronicle of his warlike deeds and of the measures of his administration. Bábar, as has been mentioned, wrote poems in several languages and also his own memoirs. Humáyún was not unskilled in the art of verse* and must have maintained an active correspondence with men of learning but his life was too changeful and his inclinations leaned too much towards comfort for him to write down his own memoirs and he therefore committed the task to Jauhar, his ewer-bearer.† With examples such as these before his eyes, it is not strange that Akbar from his youth should have been impelled towards knowledge and should regard as an inherited trust not only the promotion of science but also its pursuit.

To conclude the subject of his religious development: his father is declared by authentic witnesses to have been a strict Sunní, his mother on the other hand who was the daughter of a scholar of noble Persian extraction, may safely be assumed to have been a Shí'ah; his tutors included professors of both doctrines and about his person there were men who held themselves detached from either. The prince appeared to have been reared like his father and his forefathers according to the Hanafi rites of the Sunnís but this did not prevent him from following from an early age, the fashion of pilgrimage to the shrines and tombs of Muhammadan saints which was prevalent among the

* Abul Fazl mentions that a complete Diwán by Humáyún was preserved in Akbar's Library. Erskine 531.

† Erskine 280.

Shí'ahs.* Among shrines these he held in special reverence those of Pír Salím Muhammad Chishtí on the hill of Síkrí, near Agrah and of Khwájah Muí'nuddín Chishtí at Ajmír.† He made pilgrimages regularly each year and also before or after any unusually important and solemn action. This practice proves what is stated in the records of Christian missionaries in contradistinction to the later assertions of Badáoní, that Akbar was never indifferent in matters of religion.‡ As he attained conscious independence of thought, it was inevitable that his tolerant and liberal disposition should be repelled in an increasing degree from the rigid forms of the Sunní creed. Outward circumstances strengthened his mental bias, for as in Europe so also in the East and particularly in India, the 16th century was an age of universal intellectual ferment. East and West, in all quarters and under the most diversified forms, there was a stir of intellectual life. It was a period in which mankind rose to renewed mental effort from the crushing repression of the savage and brutal Middle Ages and in which the universal spiritual awakening took action in a pressing forward from serfdom towards freedom and in the thirst for something of whatsoever kind, higher and better.

Surrounded as he was by various and partly conflicting elements, Akbar, least of all men, was able to withstand impulses which coincided with his own innate, unresting impulse towards knowledge and action. He was an absolute ruler and his existence as emperor could be conditioned by his own will only. Humanity

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* Historical and descriptive account of Persia. Frazer 321.

† Elliot V, 273 and 328.

‡ See the excellent work of Max Müllbauer; Geschichte der katholischen missionen in Ostindien. Freiburg in Breisgau. 1852. 8vo. 133 *et seq.*

however, no less than political wisdom, urged him to prove the greatness of his power by wise moderation rather than its arbitrary exercise. When his Mughul ancestors had relentlessly crushed out opposition, they were driven by circumstances to accommodate themselves in creed, manners and custom to the peoples they had vanquished. Even if Akbar were not yet clearly conscious of this fact, it must have prompted him to direct his efforts not to the extermination of his enemies but to their affiliation to himself and his house by acts of conciliatory toleration.

There could have been no question of the annihilation of Hindús by Muhammadans even in subject lands, for the conquerors were and remained in the minority. Moreover Akbar's predecessors had seen the necessity of respecting the faith and the customs of the races they conquered. It is true that he himself stamped out resistance wherever it met him ; Mírt'ha was stormed through streams of blood and even Banáras, the sacred city of Hindúism, felt his wrath because it had closed its gates against him during the rebellion of Jaunpúr. Just as little however as he cherished wrath against the brave Rájpúts when Mírt'ha had fallen, so little did he against the refractory Banáras when it had been chastised ; he made no delay in renewing intercourse with its *brahmáns* and showed that though he could act as an autocrat, he could feel as a man.

In order to form a true judgment of Akbar, it is needful to possess the capability of losing oneself in that genius of the East which only the fewest are capable of rightly comprehending. The Oriental does not desire to direct and guide by his understanding ; he rather allows himself to be determined by the impulses of

feeling and, with implicit calmness, surrenders himself to the will of fate, without afflicting himself to interpret it. In this abnegation he finds strength to endure the most sudden changes of fortune without being swayed between the fastidious sentimentality and crabbed cynicism of the European's restless strife after ideal aims. It is exceptional for the Oriental to sink into that gloomy stupor of fatalism with which he is so abundantly reproached by Europeans.

An essential difference exists between the inner life of a Muhammadan and that of a Hindú, for the first yields more to passion while the last leads a passionless life of feeling. Both however are human; both strive, each in his mode, after unattainable objects which are fundamentally the same but are pursued by different ways and methods. The antagonism which for a half chiliad had existed in all other respects in the Hindú and Muhammadan outer and inner life was too strong for it to have been an easy task to reconcile their conflicting elements. For 500 years, the Muhammadans had flooded, plundered and conquered India; now in the 16th century, the Moslim lords of the land lived in proximity to the native population but without coalescence. The Hindú was unchanged as he had been for 1000 years, loving everything native, hating everything foreign. The Muhammadan although not identical with his co-religionist of the time of the Prophet and the first Khalífs had retained enough of the foreigner and of diversity to forbid him to feel at home on the soil of India. Both it is true, had lived and laboured near and with one another, both had often met in battle but to live in community was a task beyond their powers.

The more impartial Akbar's views became, the more these antagonisms must have troubled him. It became his highest object to do justice to both the opposed creeds and to convert India into a garden in which the many-pillared banyan—that symbol of Hindu Sánkhya doctrine, of vitality ever fresh and rejuvenescent—might flourish in harmonious peace, side by side with the slender and aspiring cypress which the Moslim loves ; which is to him not only the sombre tree of mourning, but also the image of heavenward-soaring hope ; and which has journeyed with him from the southern slopes of the Bolar Dagh to the sources of the Nile and fromthe Iranian Highlands to the Pillars of Hercules and the China shore of the Pacific.*

* Erdkunde. Ritter. 1836. 2nd Ed. Berlin. VI, 664—73. VIII, 246-7 and IX, 567. Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere Victor Helm. 3rd Ed. Berlin. 1877. 244-251.

SECTION III.—Akbar enlarges his empire and consolidates his power.

CHAPTER I.

Akbar and the Hindús. Chítor.

Akbar had now reigned twelve years; the first half of this period had been passed under the guardianship of Bairám Khán, the second under female ascendancy, amid partisan quarrels and open rebellions. These were the years of the Emperor's apprenticeship; the buffet which struck down the audacious Adham Khán made him a man and now when the heads of 'Alí Qulí and Bahádur lay at his feet, it was beyond question that, not in name only but in fact, he was Padsháh of India. He had shown that he had matured into an absolute sovereign and that thenceforth his will was to be law in Hindústán. Completely to effect this, two things were however pre-eminently necessary—the confirmation of peace and order within his recently pacified empire and such an extension of frontier as should assure its future.

Bitter experience had taught him that no reliance could be placed upon the Moslim nobility nor yet upon his own kinsmen; he was driven to look elsewhere

for stable and trustworthy support against faithless relatives and co-religionists and this only the Hindús, native to the country, could guarantee. It is true that from time to time, earlier Muhammadan conquerors had made common cause with the Hindús but it was only temporarily, in extreme danger and without any genuine *rapprochement* that they thus sacrificed their selfish complacency and religious ardour. Calculation however, was not Akbar's only motive for attaching himself to the Hindús but his recognition in them of virtues which found echo in his own heart—a happy unison for it is rarely indeed that political necessity concurs with personal inclination.

There had already been points of contact between Hindús and Mughuls. When Bábar was planning the conquest of Hindústán, he several times entered into negociations—having for their object the dethronement of Ibrahím Lodí*—with Ráná Sánká, then the most powerful and respected of Rájpút chiefs. Like Bábar, Humáyún was not averse from friendliness with Hindús when this suited his purpose; in his needs, he had sought protection against Sher Sháh from Máldeo, Rájah of Jodhpúr but without success and the aid he craved was first afforded by the Ráná of Amarkóṭ. Another instance of alliance occurred during Bahádur Sháh's first siege of Chítor, when its Ráná sent an embassy to supplicate Humáyún's help†. The native annals of Mewár add the further information that

* Bábar and Humáyún, Erskine I, 462 : Túzaki Bábarí, Elliot IV, 264 Tod I, 305.

† Firishtah, Briggs II, 74. Erskine II, 14. Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V, 190 *et seq.*) and Abul Fazl (Chalmers I, 39—45) know only of one siege and nothing of this petition for help.

Kurnavatí, the noble mother of U'dai Singh, turned in her extremity to entreat assistance from the Emperor, thus electing him her "*ráchí bánd bhai*," (*bracelet-bound brother*); ‡ Humáyún answered that he understood her token and "pledged himself to her service even if the "demand were the castle of Rantanbhor" (which he had just acquired at great loss). He at once quitted Bengal where he was engaged against the revolted Patháns but he came too late; Bahádur Sháh had stormed Chítor—its men had fallen fighting, its women, headed by Kurnavatí, had perished on the funeral pyre.

Difficult, almost impossible as it is, in face of the studied silence of Muhammadan historians on this point, to extract the kernel of truth from the husk of legend, yet this tradition, woven of fact and poetry, is not without its value as affording proof that more intimate relations had once existed between native princes and the Dihlí court than later chroniclers were willing to admit. Akbar was born under the sheltering roof of a Hindú and shortly after his accession, relations developed between him and the Rajpúts which have been of wide significance in the history of Hindústán; for it was precisely from this race that he not only drew friends but some of his most influential counsellors and distinguished generals.

Intercourse with cultivated men was a necessity of Akbar's existence and his fine organization was

‡ A Rájputní sends her bracelet (*ráchí*) in time of need or danger to some man of influence and by so doing confers on him the right to assume a brother's duties and to take up and to defend her cause. Whether the token be braided of silken threads or be a band of jewelled gold from the hut or the palace, its summons is imperative to every chivalrous man. Tod I, 312-3. Wilson's Glossary. Lond., 1855. 4°. p. 436. So early as in the ancient Iranian legends the bracelet was a token. See Le livre des Rois de Firdousi, publié par Jules Mohl. Paris, 1842. 4°. II, 85 & 171.

highly receptive of the beauties of music and poetry. Shortly after his accession, there came to his court the minstrel Mahesh Dás, a poor *bráhman* of Kálpí who was already noted for his bon-mots and his verses. He met with a most gracious reception and before long won such favour that he became a confidential associate of the Emperor and received the honourable sobriquet "*Kab Rái*"—prince of poets. Later on, the fief of Nagarkóṭ was assigned to him, together with the title of Rájah Bír Bár (Birbal) or brave and mighty Rájah. Death only had power to interrupt this friendship.* In the seventh year of the reign, a renowned Rájpút rhapsodist, named Miyán Tánsen† was summoned to court and right royally rewarded. His Hindí songs made the Emperor conversant with the epic and amatory poems of the Hindús; many of his verses owe their inspiration directly to his royal patron; and even down to the present day the peoples of the Ganges sing some of his charming melodies.

Of the natives of India whom Akbar had the tact to win, by far the most remarkable was Todar Mall,‡ a K'hatrí of Láharpúr in Audh. Already under Sher Sháh, he had given evidence of capacity; from the lowly position of a writer, he had worked his way upwards until the great Pathán committed to him the construction of the fort of New Rhoṭás, in the Panjáb when, by talent and perseverance, he succeeded in planting this mighty barrier in the path of the Gak-k'hars.§ On supreme power passing again from the

* Blochmann 404. Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V, 356.
† Blochmann 406.
‡ Blochmann 351-2 & 620.
§. Ni'matullah, Elliot VI, 114.

Patháns to the Chagátáïs, Todar Mall still continued in state service. Akbar was quick to recognise in him that genius for state-craft which the latter subsequently so strikingly manifested; as events dictated, he was entrusted—first with the command of a division of the army, for he was a brave soldier—then with the organization and administration of several districts until as *díwán*, in 1583, he earned for his master and himself undying fame by calling into life rules and regulations for taxation which might yet serve as models for many a European state.* 991 H.

Still closer ties were to be formed between the young ruler and the children of the soil and, in particular, with their noblest race, the Rájpút. Like so many fateful relations this was brought about and determined by an insignificant occurrence. At the time when Humáyún fled to Persia, Rájah Bihárí Mall,† a much esteemed prince of the house of Kachhwáha and chief of Amber had rendered service to the Chagátáïs by mediating with Hájí Khán, a general of Sher Sháh to allow unimpeded retreat to Majnún Khán Qáqshál, Humáyún's governor of Nárnaul. Before the end of the first year of Akbar's reign and at his invitation, the Rájah made his submission as did also his son, Bhagwán Dás and his grandson, Mán Singh, both of whom subsequently held high office in the imperial service. Certainly, in his heart the Rájah could have felt no desire to kiss the stirrup of a Túrk but his power was too insignificant, his kingdom too small and Dihlí too near for him to dream of resisting the con-

* Chalmers II, 278.

† Blochmann 328-9, 369, 619. Chalmers I, 309, 398—401. Briggs II, 208.

queror of Pánípat ; he therefore advisedly acquiesced in circumstances by being the first Rájpút prince to ally himself with Akbar. It was two days after Hemú's defeat that Bihárí Mall paid his first visit to the royal camp near Dihlí. In it, in place of its usual ceremonious repose and order, he found tumultuous confusion ; soldiers and servants, possibly also some dignitaries, were hustling one another in their efforts to avoid tent-pegs and ropes which were flying in all directions, while a young man sat calmly on the neck of a *mast* elephant and endeavoured to reduce him to obedience by blows from an iron goad, a task requiring no less courage than cool-headed skill. Bihárí Mall and his companions dismounted and closely followed the course of this singular duel. It was evident that the bold rider was no novice in his work ; he forced the wearied animal to kneel, sprang to the ground and leaving him to his keeper, courteously greeted the new-comers who surrounded him with applause. Interrupting their commendation, he beckoned the old chief to follow him into the royal crimson tent and it was only there that Bihárí Mall knew his sovereign. This incident was well-calculated to pave the way for the friendship which soon sprang up, for the knightly Rájpút honoured nothing more than manly contempt for danger. Five years later, as the Emperor was near Kalálí, on his way to the shrine of his patron saint, Mu'ínuddín Chishtí, it was reported to him, on 24th January 1562, that Bihárí Mall was being hard-

18th Jumáda I. 969H.

pressed by Sharafuddín Husain, who at the instigation of Sojá,* a nephew of

* Blochmann 329. Trs.

the Rájah, was trying to possess himself of Amber.* At the Emperor's request, Bihárí Mall and his whole family attended upon him at Sankánír and were most honourably received. The Rájah expressed the wish to enter the royal service and to strengthen the ties of friendship by giving his daughter in marriage to Akbar, both of which desires were granted without delay. This Rájpútní is probably the mother of Akbar's eldest son Salím (Jahángír).* Having regard to this circumstance or perhaps by express order of the Emperor, Muhammadan historians mention her by the title of honour "*Maryam uzzamání*," although it is against their custom to name even imperial consorts when of Hindú race. While in Ajmír, Akbar ordered Sharafuddín to restore the booty he had taken from the Rájah of Amber and, perhaps as compensation, commissioned him to conquer the fort of 'Mírt'ha which was obstinately holding out for Máldeo under Jai Mall and Deví Dás. After a protracted resistance it surrendered on the condition of safe exit for the garrison ; its loss was a severe blow to the haughty and faithless Máldeo who had never before been brought to submission. From Ajmír Akbar returned to A'grah, travelling with a small retinue and at the utmost speed while leaving his camp, with the Rájpút princess and her relatives, to follow at leisure. On their arrival in the capital, Bihárí Mall was made a commander of five thousand (*Panjhazárí*,) and his son and grandson received honourable military commissions.

Akbar had moreover acquaintance with Rájpúts as his opponents in battle. In the seventh year of his

* Comp. J. A. S. B. vol. LXVI, 164. H. Beveridge. Trs.

reign when he was marching through the Mainpúrí district, it was reported to him that the men of the eight villages called A't'hga, near Sakít, were raiding into the adjacent country. These so-called raiders were apparently independent Rájpúts who did not like the new Moslim *jágírdár*.* Thinking it right to punish them without delay, Akbar led a small force against theirs which numbered some 4000 and was keen to fight. Akbar's troop hung back but he and a handful of bolder spirits threw themselves upon the rebels and overcame them. On this occasion, says Abul Fazl, "an "archer discharged no less than seven arrows against "the monarch, five of which passed within two or three "inches above his head and the remaining two stuck in his "shield." Certainly these were no messengers of friendship, yet they were from a valiant hand and a brave man is drawn to the brave.

Such had been the various associations of Akbar and the Hindús and such the resulting relations. Now that his rebellious *jágírdárs* of Jaunpúr were crushed and the Uzbak captains annihilated, he was able to think of extending his territory over those other parts of India which in earlier times had lain repeatedly under the sovereignty of Dihlí. Agrah, then his favourite residence, was a little to the north of Málwah which together with the countries to its west and south-west had from time immemorial been the chief seat of the Rájpúts.

In its early use, *rájpútra* denoted a king's or prince's son: as employed by Muhammadan historians *rájpút* repre-

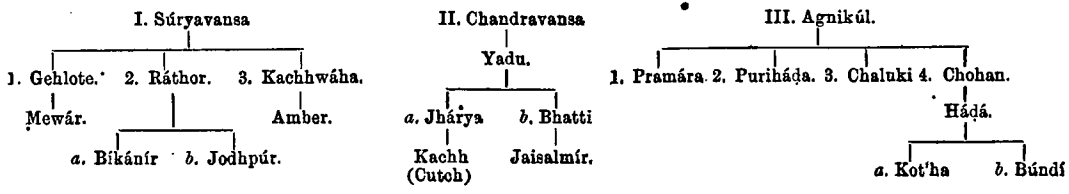
* Chalmers I, 405, *et seq.* (Abul Fazl and Blochmann (324) call them robbers. Trs.)

sents a Hindú lord of land, a "baron" of some greater chief who in turn was entitled a *ráná*, *rájah* or *rái*. In its political sense the word *rájpút* answers to the Muhammadan *amír* and the Turkish *beg*; it is for this reason that chroniclers speak of Rájpúts as spread over all India where they formed the flower of the *bráhmanical* army. With the growth and consolidation of the Muhammadan power, the independent Rájpút kingdoms dwindled and so too dwindled the meaning of the word which even in the 13th century commonly denoted only the peoples of the country lying round the Aráwalis.

The origin of the justly renowned race of the Rájpúts has never been determined with accuracy; their annals reach back into those ages of misty grey when there were only heroes on earth and these did battle with the gods. Tradition says that they sprang from the family of the sun, the Súryavansa, through Ráma, king of Audh, the thirty-fourth (?) in order of descent from from Ikshwáku, the grandson of the sun; from the family of the moon, the Chandravansa, through Búdha (Mercury) and Krishna and from the fire race, Agnikúl, descendants of the Agastya, the holy fire which blazes on Mount Abú. From these three stems, branched six-and-thirty kingly houses.* No people has surpassed the Rájpúts in pride of birth and ancestry; their heroic bravery is proverbial and their passion for freedom perhaps exceeds that of the Swiss and ancient Basques. Side by side with these distinguished qualities, there unhappily came to subsist among them a vice borrowed from the Moslim conquerors of India, the fatal vice of opium-eating.†

† Ayeen Akberry, ed. Fr. Gladwin II, 50. (? Trs.) Ritter VI, 780.

* This table includes only the three primal groups, with the eight chief families: of the branches only those princely houses are named which were distinguished in the 16th century.



Tod I, 20—117. Elliot (Beames) Memoirs I, 8, 90, 128. Wilson, 434.

In the reign of Akbar, the contests of Ráisin, Mírt'ha, Hatkánth and Chanwa were too fresh in remembrance for Rájpúts to be able to shut their eyes to the fact that the foreigners were extending themselves day by day, over their own former possessions ; nevertheless, with few exceptions those who were still ruled by their own independent princes, were far from thinking of submission to the Mughuls : even in the face of painful experience, they had the hardihood to manifest their animosity towards the Dihlí court. They aided Moslim rebels who sought, in their hills, vantage ground for raids upon the plains, or they protected necessitous Rájpúts who had fled from districts already conquered by the Muhammadans, so that a new focus of conspiracy was constantly formed, partly within, partly without the empire. They marauded from their strong hill castles upon Mughul territory and interrupted communications ; if pursued, they found ample shelter in the impracticable defiles of their mountains. To such evils it was necessary to fix a term ; as long as audacious Rájpúts niched on the rocky heights of Málwah, endangering the transit of imperial troops and plundering travellers and caravans or levying black mail on their passage and their goods, so long assured possession of the country was out of the question. The matter was of the more moment that the direct road to the Narbadah valley and the Dak'hin lay through country in which free Rájpúts were located as guards of the frontier. Their lands were a gateway of which it was imperative to wrest the key from their charge and that key was—Mewár.

Of all Rájpút princes, the Ráná of Mewár was the most powerful and the most renowned. His family

made it their boast that they had never sullied their blood by alliance with the Moslims with whom on the contrary, they lived in a state of exasperated hostility and often of bloody feud.*

The Mewár of to-day is almost conterminous with the Mewár of the time of Akbar; it contains 11,614 square miles and extends between 23° 46′ and 25° 36′ N. L and 72° 50′ and 75° 38′ E. L.; it is bounded on the north by the states of Jeypúr (Amber) and Ajmír, on the south by Partabgarh and Dongarpúr, on the east by Kot'ha and Búndí and on the west by Márwár. Three-fifths of the state are level, the rest hilly and in parts very rough. Agriculture and cattle-breeding are pursued with success, in some places mining also; several rivers traverse the state, the water-supply of which is carefully husbanded, irrigation dues forming an important factor in the Ráná's revenues. In the 16th century his resources were much more considerable than now; his army was martial and disciplined, he was supported by a powerful confederacy and strong forts stood at the important points of his kingdom, the most celebrated of which was Chítor, the "sanctuary of Rájpút freedom." Akbar was no friend to half-measures and being driven to subdue the Rájpúts once for all, it appeared desirable to humble first the proud Ráná of Mewár, by entering his ancestral stronghold as its conqueror. In addition to general grounds, war was dictated by a special occasion, in itself sufficient to absolve Akbar from the charge of making an unprovoked war of conquest. This occasion

* See detailed account in the "Memoranda of information regarding certain native chiefs," printed by order of the Government, Calcutta (undated, possibly 1877) 4o. III, 13.

was thus given. During the formidable revolt of Jaunpúr and when Muhammad Hakím Mírzá was raising the standard of revolt in the districts west of Kábul, other scions of the house of Timur seized the opportunity to rebel against their twice-threatened chief and kinsman. They were the so-called Mírzás*—the younger sons of Mu. Sulṭán Mírzá—and their nephews, their seniors in age, Ulugh and Sháh Mírzá. Of them Faizí Sirhindí says that a tendency to rebellion was an old family complaint. Like Abul Ma'álí and Sharafuddín Husain at an earlier date, they marched

* They belonged to the branch of the Khorásán descendants of Timur, the founder of their family being Timur's second son, 'Umar Shaikh Mírzá. They came into closer relation with their kinsmen, the Mughul sovereigns of Hindústán, when Muhammad Sulṭán Mírzá, grandson of the great king, Sulṭán Husain Mírzá, betook himself to Bábar's court; he was treated with great favour by Bábar and later on, by Humáyún, although he gave the latter cause for frequent discontent and even attempted to obtain the sovereignty: he however was pardoned and the Emperor showered distinction of all kinds on his two sons, Ulugh and Sháh. They walked in their father's footsteps and rebelled openly against their benefactor during Kámrán's revolt. They were however again received into favour. Ulugh was killed in an expedition against the Hazárahs, on the road to Ghazní; his brother died shortly afterwards, according to Erskine (l. c. I, 363) a sacrifice to a blood feud; according to Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V, 316) murdered by robbers in the Mamurra Pass; according to Firishtah (Briggs II, 225) a natural death.

Humáyún reared the sons of Ulugh Mírzá, viz., Sikandar and Mahmúd Sulṭán with the greatest care and gave them as names of honour, Ulugh M. and Sháh M. (Hence arises the confusion between fathers and sons, *e. g.*, in Elliot V, 325 and Chalmers I, 492.) Akbar excused the aged Muhámmad Sulṭán Mírzá from attendance at court and gave him the *pargana* of A'zampúr in Sambhal; he also bestowed several places on his grandsons. In spite of his great age four other sons were born to him, 1. Ibráhím Husain M., 2. Muhammad Husain M., 3. Masúd Husain M., and 4. A'qil Husain M. who also received *jáyírs* adjacent to his own.

Muhammadan chroniclers designate the branches of this family exclusively as the "*Mírzás*."

Akbarnámah of Shaikh Iláhád; Faizí Sirhindí (Elliot VI, 122 *et seq.* Blochmann, 461-2.

plundering and blackmailing through the country at the head of a hastily-gathered swarm of partisans and adventurers. Dispersed, at length, by local *jágírdárs*, they resolved on joining 'Alí-Qulí and Iskandar but this plan failed because they were neither accommodating nor manageable. After they had repulsed several royal commanders, they threatened Dihlí but its gates were closed betimes against them by Tátár Khán. Mun'im Khán who had been left in charge of the government at A'grah, now led against them all the forces at his command; also the country population rose, moved by hatred of their marauding and oppression. They were compelled to retire in haste to Málwah and here their designs were favoured rather than opposed by the majority of the independent Rájpút chiefs while the paramount ráná, U'dai Singh of Mewár openly afforded them assistance; a piece of bravado he was soon to expiate. Although Mun'im Khán got possession of the old Mírzá, Mu. Sulṭán and imprisoned him in Biánah, the younger rebels were successful in obtaining Ujjain by treachery and desolated its environs.

So soon as Akbar had settled the affairs of the Jaunpúr revolt and returned to A'grah, he turned his attention to the Mírzás, for their chastisement was a duty enjoined equally by the honour of his throne and the peace of his empire. First, he thought it well to reckon with the Ráná of Mewár who by aiding these enemies, had dared to offer him defiance.* Whatever projects Akbar may have previously cherished for subjugating the independent kingdoms of Hindústán were certainly favoured and speeded by a course of action

* Blochmann 519.

which gave political authorization to his plan of overthrowing the might of the Ráná. This plan could succeed only if the Mughul lever were fixed under Mewár's centre of gravity, Chítor.

From time immemorial Chítor* had been the bulwark of Mewár and fable and history are alike eloquent in praising its stateliness and strength. A traveller who turning from Búndí towards the South-west makes the toilsome march through the wild gorges of the winding Banás and past its now-crumbling castles, reaches at last a table-shaped rock which rises on the eastern bank of the river.† This is the rock of Chítor, the one lonely height in a circle of three miles, a giant block wrenched by a Titan hand from the mountain chain. Its elevation is some 500 feet and its circumference, at its base, is somewhere about eight miles. Its steep declivities are mainly formed of argillaceous schist but the strata which lie round its summit being of quartz, give it coherence. Escarped on all sides, it is futher guarded by menacing ravines and jagged buttresses and only on its southern face is ascent practicable. Its summit was crested by a fort girt, like an eagle's eyrie, by nature's own defences; here and there—as at the weak points to the south—the art of the fortress-builder stepped in and gave a strength and security more formidable than the natural defences. The fortifications consisted of a double rampart, the outer of which ran round the rim of the plateau; for the most part the hill is in itself inaccessible but

* Voyage to East India, Edw. Terry reprinted from ed. of 1655 Lon., 1777. 8 vo., 78; Tod II, 754 *et seq.*; Ritter VI, 814, *et seq.*; Táríkh i Alfí (Elliot V, 170.) Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V. 325).

† Tod II, 659. also Price and Táríkh i Alfí. Trs.

wherever water-channels or depressions of the ground rendered it scaleable, high walls were run and surmounted by battlements and towers. "At the southern "extremity, the rock is so narrrow as to be embraced "by an immense half-moon, commanding the hill, called "Chítorí, not more than 150 yards distant; it is "connected with Chítor, but lower and judiciously "left out of the circumvallation. Still it is a weak "point, of which the invader has availed himself*." In this neighbourhood is the one ascent to the fort, a road hewn in the rock and which trends first due north, then mounts in sharp zig-zags and, difficult in itself, is rendered still more so by seven successive gateways, each of which must be passed through in order to reach the summit and the Rampól or Rampúra gate which crowns the whole. Here is also the Nolakha Bindár, a "small citadel in itself, with massive lofty walls and towers built entirely of ancient ruins." On the north-western face, lies another fortification, grey with age. In the centre of the eastern face opens the "Gate of the Sun." In the interior of the town were many springs and in addition, provident architects had constructed reservoirs for the reception and storing of the waters of the rains. The town was beautified, especially in its western quarter, by gorgeous shrines and stately palaces while to this day the nine stories of Ráná Khumbha's column of victory stand erect, a splendid cognizance. The garrison of this sanctuary was composed of the choicest troops and in earlier times there was no lack of stir in the bázár nor of the laborious activity of craftsmen.

* Tod II, 659. Trs.

Often had the din of battle resounded on plain and height and twice already had Moslim soldiers torn the Ráná's golden sun-banner from its pinnacle. On 25th August 1303, after a protracted siege, 'Aláuddín Khiljí had stormed Chítor and had put 30,000 Hindús to the sword; his own troops also suffering heavily but more particularly from the pernicious influence of the rainy season.* Tradition has marvellously embellished this affair by alleging as its motive 'Aláuddín's desire to win by force of arms, Padminí, the charming wife of Ráná Ratan Sen† and the daughter of a Cingalese prince. This story has served as theme for several poets.‡ Over two hundred years passed away before a renovated Chítor was again besieged and then by Bahádur Sháh, king of Gujrát. Firishtah speaks of two sieges by Bahádur but the facts as recorded by other chroniclers appear to controvert the statement. It is possible that previous to the actual investment, Bahádur had taken the field against the Ráná but, as Firishtah himself admits, it did not come to fighting because Bahádur was bribed to retire.§

11th Muharram 703 H.

In 1534 however, he was serious in his design of beleaguerment. Humáyún, irritated by his support of rebellion, marched to aid the Ráná, coming from Bengal as far as Sarangpúr in Málwah. Bahádur held a council "when it was the

941 H.

* Táríkh i Alái of Amír Chusrú (Elliot III, 76-7). Táríkh i Fíruz Sháhí of Ziáuddín Barni (Elliot III, 189.) Amír Chusrú's Aschíka (Elliot III, Appendix, 532.)

† Bhimsi. Trs.

‡ Journal Asiatique, Series V, vol. V. Paris. 1856, pp. 1—47, 89—100, 315—343.

§ Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V, 190) speaks of the second siege. See too History of Gujrát (Bird) 372, 374, and 383. Trs.

"opinion of the majority that it would be better to raise "the siege and march against him. Other advisers "maintained that Humáyún's religious principles would "prevent him from molesting Bahádur Sháh while "engaged in war with idolaters and that therefore it was "most advisable to bring the siege to a close." Under these circumstances, Bahádur Sháh stormed the town and withdrew laden with booty while Humáyún loitered at Sarangpúr. Such had been the earlier sieges of Chítor, the third was to be more fruitful of consequence.*

According to his custom, Akbar commenced his enterprise by a hunting expedition to which he summoned many vassals and their warlike retainers to join the troops which always accompanied him in his excursions. Abul Fazl states that there was with the Emperor at this time, a son of U'dai Singh, Sakat by name and that one day Akbar said to him, as if in jest, that his father had not done homage to him as Padsháh of Hindústán and that he should be forced, by this dilatoriness, to act against him; he then inquired what help Sakat himself would give in such a case. The prince's reply was flight; he slipped from the royal camp and hastened to warn his father who was thus able to make the requisite preparations. This incident necessarily accelerated Akbar's action.

Middle of Rabí I. 975 H.

The actual campaign was begun about 20th September 1567.† The Mughul line of march led first towards Súpar (Siwi Súpar), a

* Briggs II, 75. Trs. Also Chalmers I, 39 *et seq.*

† For the following events the chief authority is Abul Fazl (Chalmers, I, 511—522), and an account of the siege and reduction of Chítor by the Emperor Akbar, from the Akbarnámah of Shaikh Abul Fazl, in the

fort of the Mewár Ráná's lying some 120 miles south-west of A'grah. It was occupied by a detachment of the troops of Rái Surjan Háḍá of Rantanbhúr and to that place the garrison had fled at the approach of the royal army. Here the Emperor remained two days and established a dépôt for stores which he placed in charge of Nazar Bahádur. From Súpar, six days marching brought them to Kot'ha, the command of which was assigned to Mu. Khán Kandahárí. Gágrún, on the Málwah frontier, was the next goal and here as previously in Kot'ha, the army halted to rest. From Gágrún, troops were sent out under Shihábuddín Ahmad and other feudatories to "clear Málwah of the taint of the sons of Mu. Sulṭán Mírzá." On news of their approach the latter fled from Ujjain to Mandú and, as here also the sound of the imperial drums was audible, Ulugh Mírzá, as Ábul Fazl expresses it, "vacated his body." The remaining Mírzás took refuge in Gujrát and were received by Chingiz Khán. Simultaneously with this expedition, Açaf Khán and his brother Vazír were commissioned to capture Mandal, a task accomplished after overcoming a stubborn resistance.

It was only with three to four thousand cavalry that Akbar first moved against Chítor, hoping by the smallness of his force to tempt the Ráná to an engagement in the open, but U'dai Singh was a degenerate heritor of the martial Sánká and had not had courage to head his faithful warriors and wait to measure himself with Akbar. He had made over charge of Chítor to Jai Mall, the hero of Mírt'ha, had left five thousand chosen

miscellaneous translations from Oriental Languages by D. Price. Lon. 1834.8vo. Vol. II See also Táríkh i Alfí of Maulánú Ahmad (Elliot V, 169—175), Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V, 324—328.) Firishtah, Briggs II, 229—232; Tod I, 322—329.

Rájpúts to defend it and had then slunk into the defiles of the Aráwalis to abide, at safe distance, the issue of the danger which was lowering over his country.

When, on 23rd October 1567, the Mughul army pitched their tents before Chítor, * dark thunder clouds wrapped hill and fort in a murky veil; dense torrents of rain beat down and constant lightenings, furrowing the clouds, dazzled without illuminating. It seemed as though the powers of nature desired to take part in the affairs of men and in this grievous tempest to rehearse the future. A pious Hindú may have interpreted the rolling thunder as the voice of Indra and have believed that in it, the sun, the guardian divinity of Chítor, spoke with anger and foreboding grief; in any case the Moslims were greatly troubled by the violence of the storm. On the following day, the Emperor rode round the hill, accompanied by surveyors charged with the preparation of accurate measurements and calculations on which might be based a plan of attack and the division of the forces. Immediately after this, command was given to the various *amírs* to take up assigned positions and to begin the siege works. A month elapsed before the hill was completely invested and in this interval, scouring parties were detached to pillage and waste the adjacent country; thus A'çaf Khán moved towards Rampúr and Husain Qulí in the direction of Gúhír where he hoped to capture the fugitive Ráná but the latter slipped adroitly from one hiding place to another. "During the whole of this time" says Price's translation of this portion of the Akbarnámah.

19th Rabí II. 975 H.

* Chalmers I, 513. Trs.

"the operations of the siege were prosecuted with unremitting "diligence and activity, and in the attacks with which the works were "continually assailed, Khán 'Álam and 'Ádil Khán in particular, with "other distinguished warriors, exhibited all that could be looked for "from the most determined valour and self-devotion. Yet as these "exertions appear to have been hitherto directed with but little regard "to system, they proved just as unavailing as an attempt on the part "of the denizens of this nether world to scale the firmament of heaven. "It was in vain that the royal Akbar, by the most peremptory orders, "constantly endeavoured to restrain them from this useless, undisciplined "exposure and which, in the estimation of every wise and prudent "man, deserves rather the character of unreflecting rashness than of "cool determined courage. Still carried away by the impulse of this "fool-hardy temerity, these otherwise gallant men closed their ears "against their remonstrance, and continued their desultory attempts "on different parts of the place, to the useless sacrifice of many a "brave and valuable soldier: for the shot and arrows of the besiegers, "merely grazing the surface of the walls and battlements, passed over "without mischief while every discharge from the garrison was generally "destructive to both man and horse."

These considerations decided Akbar to adopt a more organized plan of attack and to concentrate his efforts on three definite points. At the first of these—the Lakuhtah gate—he took command in person, having with him the Chagátáï, Hasan Khán and Rájah Patra Dás; at the second were Shujá'at Khán and Rájah Todar Mall; and at the third Khwájah Abdul Mujid, and A'çaf and Vazír Kháns. The Emperor had neither time nor patience to await the arrival of heavy ordnance and moreover it was open to question whether the fortifications of Chítor were not capable of defying all the artillery of that day. He certainly caused a few guns to be cast on the spot, under his own eye, but they did not answer his expectations.*

* Abul Fazl (Chalmers I, 515) certainly says that the Rájpúts were so awed by a mortar which could throw half a mán (Akbar's mán=37¾ lbs.) and by Akbar's other dispositions that they offered to pay a large

To ensure success and to spare his men as much as possible he ordered* *sábáts* to be constructed. These are zigzag trenches commencing at gunshot distance from the fort and having double walls. The approaches are continued by means of blinds or stuffed gabions—huge basket-work cylinders covered with buffalo hide and filled with earth; which form moveable shields that the sappers roll before them as they proceed. As the saps advance, these gabions are pushed forward until the foot of the wall is reached while shafts are sunk "from which galleries are carried "on underground for the construction of the mines, "in which having placed the powder and blown up "the works, the storming party rushes from the *sábát* "or superior galleries and assaults the place." These preliminary operations absorbed much time and treasure and, spite of precautions, were effected at great loss of life. On the earth-works only five thousand workers were employed whose daily average loss was two hundred; they were all volunteers, for the Emperor forbade impressment for this work and scattered "heaps of *rupís* and *dáms*" so that new labourers were always ready to take the place of those who had fallen in the dangerous duty. Little regard was paid to the dead whose bodies, says Nizámuddín Ahmad, were "used on the walls like bricks." In spite of all obstacles, the works were carried out on a gigantic scale. "The *sábát* "which was conducted from the royal battery was so

annual tribute for a capitulation but Akbar's "proud spirit refused all conditions but the unconditional surrender of the Ráná." This account is given by none of our other authorities.

* See Briggs II, 230 and notes, for interesting remarks on the construction of *Sábáts*. Trs.

"extensive, that ten horsemen abreast could ride along "it and it was so high that an elephant rider with his "spear in his hand could pass under it."

The preparations, including two mines sunk near each other, occupied three weeks. It was on Wednesday, 17th December 1567, that all was ready for the actual assault. The flower of the Mughul army was massed in the *sábáts*, prepared to storm when the breach should have been made. The mines were charged respectively with about 25 and 37 cwt. of powder. The Emperor had ordered that each should be furnished with its own fuze and fired separately but Kabír Khán to whom the commission had been given, arranged that the two should be fired by one and the same match, apparently in the expectation that they would thus explode simultaneously.* The result proved that Akbar had reckoned more correctly than his opinionated subordinate, for, when the signal was given to fire, one mine only exploded.† Its effect however, was sufficient to lay part of the bastion in ruins and to hurl its defenders in pieces. The assailants rushed rashly into the breach; the garrison threw themselves upon them and a fierce struggle began. Suddenly the second mine exploded under them; bewilderment was followed by stupefaction and over the place of disaster brooded the grey powder smoke, the common shroud of hundreds of Mughuls and Rájpúts. The report was heard over a radius of 100 miles; corpses and enormous masses of stone were whirled through the air and tossed to a distance of several

15th Jumáda II. 975 H.

* Nizámuddín, Bádáoní and Abul Fazl all say or imply that there were two fuzes and that one burned out sooner than the other. Trs.

† Elliot V, 326. Trs.

*parasangs.** Whole ranks of men were annihilated; many individuals, familiarly known to the Emperor, were killed; among them Sayyid Jamáluddín, one of those Sayyids of Bárha† who were ever most faithful to Akbar.

Not even a catastrophe so terrible as this could make Akbar swerve from a resolution once taken. While strictly forbidding foolhardy enterprises to his *amírs*, he was indefatigable in his superintendence of the regular siege works. His caution and perseverance waxed with growing difficulties and with delayed success. He patiently examined the minutest details of this undertaking which was to place a landmark on his path of glory and which formed the threshold he had to cross before realizing, as a conqueror at peace with the conquered, the favourite motto of his youth, "Peace with all." Whether by fighting or by starvation, Chítor must be his; so penetrated was he by this conviction that he took a solemn oath to make, on foot, when it should have fallen, a pilgrimage from Chítor to the grave of Mu'ínuddin Chishtí, at Ajmír. Wherever there was need of cheer for the weary, encouragement for the dismayed or aid for the helpless, there he was found; his presence spurred his officers to renewed effort and roused every soldier to reckless contempt for death. In truth his experience was well-calculated to work a magic influence; even to those least swayed by superstition, his life may well have seemed charmed; for though constantly exposed to danger he remained uninjured. On one occasion when he visited a battery

* A *parasong* is equal to nearly 4 English miles. Trs.

† Notwithstanding their descent from the Prophet, "they delighted in looking upon themselves as Hindústánís." Blochmann 390-1.

directed against a small projection of the hill from which a lively fire of matchlocks and artillery was maintained against the besiegers, a cannon-ball struck near him and, leaving him untouched, stretched twenty of his brave followers on the ground. On another occasion, Khán 'Alám when standing close to him, was hit by a bullet which passed through his coat-of-mail and tunic but was checked in his inner garment without inflicting a wound, so that the Emperor's very presence seemed to radiate good fortune. Akbar would often take a gun and pick off an enemy from the walls ; one day when making his rounds near the Lakuhtah gate, he observed a certain marksman wound several of his people fatally—Jalál Khán also, was struck in the ear at his own side.—He took a matchlock and brought down the formidable foe who was no other than Ismáil "the leader of the sharpshooters." *

No less than the Emperor, did Todar Mall and Qásim Khán permit repose in their quarters ; they worked at their *sábát* with such zeal that for a day and two nights they took neither rest nor food. The nearer the decisive moment approached, the hotter waxed the struggle ; the soldiers laboured and fought with the utmost constancy for, in a gallery which had been erected for him on the *sábát*, they saw the Emperor, undeterred by the falling missiles, quietly and composedly directing the attack and from time to time, picking off some too daring opponent. The Rájpúts were not able to prevent the *sábáts* from being raised to such a height that they overtopped their breast-works ; their

* There were Moslim mercenaries in the service of the Ráná. For their extraordinary escape from Chítor see Price 39.

walls too were damaged at several points and repeated blastings had effected more than one breach.

25th Sha'bán 975 H. In the night preceding Thursday, 24th February the order for a general assault was issued but the watchful defenders were on their guard and, when the forlorn hope issued from the *sábáts*, opposed strenuous resistance. Both sides suffered heavily and the fight long balanced undecided. During its course, some of the besieged attempted to fill the breaches by piling in them bales of cloth, sacks filled with cotton and brushwood faggots, soaked in oil which were to be ignited when the storming party should reach the ramparts. From the post where he sat like a hunter at his station, Akbar distinguished from the crowd of Rájpúts, by the flickering light of the torches, one man of commanding presence. He was armed in mail, wrought into gleaming studs, and seemed to overlook the restoration and defence of the works and to ensure zealous obedience for his orders. Akbar grasped Sangrám,* his favourite gun, fired and the Rájpút fell, shot through the forehead. At the time Akbar did not know whom he had slain, but he turned to Bhagwán Dás with the remark that "he felt afraid "from his steadiness of hand that he must have hit his "mark." In truth he had brought down noble game, for the lion of Chítor, Jai Mall, had fallen to his gun.

With Jai Mall fell also Chítor. When his body was carried into the town, terror and despair spread, swift as the fire of powder, and courage for further resistance died in even the bravest heart. Before an hour had passed, it was announced in Akbar's camp that not a defender

* Sangrám signifies war or battle. See also Blochmann 116, 617.

was to be seen on the walls and in place of the tumultuous din of battle, reigned solitude and silence. Chítor was hushed to the stillness of death until suddenly the gloomy night was lightened by the weird red glow of fires in the heart of the fort. To most of the Chagátáïs this transition was fraught with mystery and even the Emperor asked, marvelling, what it betokened. Bhagwán Dás answered, "Be on your guard, it is the *johar.*"

The *johar* is the last awful sacrifice which Rájpút despair offers to honour and the gods. Rájpútnís choose rather to die than to fall into an enemy's hands and willingly mount the funeral pyre, strewed for the sacrifice with sandal wood and wetted with fragrant oil. When the women have accomplished the fearful rite, the men dedicate themselves to death, by donning saffron garments and eating *pán** together after which they either await their fate resignedly or throw themselves upon the foe to die sword in hand. As a last desperate sortie might be looked for, the Mughuls remained under arms through the night. Day broke and still ghostly silence brooded over the town and no enemy appeared. Word was given to enter the place and Akbar, mounted on his elephant, Asmán Shakoh, (*high-as-heaven*) led his troops through one of the breaches. He met with no resistance in the deserted streets until he had penetrated far into the town where a carnage began which ceased only for lack of victims. In the grey of the early morning, trained elephants were brought in and worked the most ghastly devastation. At three points the massacre was at its worst,

* Pieces of areca nut (*pán*) wrapped in betel leaves. Wilson 88.

near the Ráná's palace, at the temple of Mahádeo, and at the Rámpúra gate. Whole quarters of the town had to be stormed, every foot of ground to be bought with blood; each bázár, each street, each house was a fortress. The conflict raged from the last watch of the night till afternoon; the Rájpúts defended themselves like lions; one of them, Aisardás Chohán, seized an elephant by the tusk and struck his dagger into its trunk, shouting, "Let this be my greeting to the Emperor." As Akbar came near the temple of Govind Siám, an elephant held out towards him the still quivering body of a boy named Pata whom it had just trampled underfoot. Pata was only sixteen but he had taken the command at the Sun Gate when the chief of Salumbra had fallen and he had displayed prodigies of valour.

Nine queens, five princesses (their daughters) with two infant sons, many wives of commanders and other distinguished Rájpúts had suffered self-sought death in the *johar*. Eight thousand soldiers and some 30,000(?) town and countrymen who had taken part in the fray, had fallen by the swords of the conquerors.* The Rájpút prime was past and, in place of the Ráná's sun-banner on its sable field, there waved, from the battlements of Chítor, the green standard of Islám.

Akbar could now truly say that that the time was come for fulfilment of his vow of pilgrimage. In the afternoon of the memorable day on which he had entered the fort, he returned to his camp. Here he remained three days, appointed Açaf Khán governor and put in train the most pressing arrangements for the administration

* Chalmers I, 517. This estimate appears too high. See Elliot V, 328; Bádáoní (Lowe, Fas, I, 107). Trs.

of the new province. On 8th February 1568, he set forth towards Ajmír; in pursuance of his vow, he travelled with a small retinue, bare-footed, in homely garb, a staff in his hand and a dry gourd slung in pilgrim fashion over his shoulder to serve as a drinking vessel; his road lay through burning sand; he gave alms to the needy, tended the sick and comforted the mourning. Abul Fazl says, "When he had "reached Mandalgarh, one of the couriers who had been "previously despatched to announce the intention of "the Emperor, returned with a message from those who "ministered at the shrine purporting that the sainted "Khwájah Mu'ín had appeared in a dream, communi- "cating to them his perfect sense of the piety and "sincerity of the Emperor's design in coming thus far "on foot to visit his humble sepulchre and urging them "by all means to dissuade him from continuing his "journey in a manner so inconvenient to himself. "Upon the receipt of such communication the Emperor "consented to perform the remainder of his pilgrimage "on horseback, until within one stage of Ajmír when "he finally resumed his journey on foot towards that "place which he reached in safety, on Sunday "6th March 1568." The next few days were spent in devotional exercises and the fulfilment of pious duties after accomplishing which, he returned to his capital.

29th Sha'bán 975H.

The Ráná of Chítor had not surrendered but, as he did not venture from his hiding, he was left for a time unmolested. There were still two great fortresses untaken—Rantanbhúr, 115 miles south-east from Ajmír and Kálinjar, in the south-east corner of Bhandalkand and on the lowest slope of the Vindhyas. Up to the date of Akbar's accession, Rantanbhúr had been in the

hands of the Afgháns *; in 1556, Salím Sháh's general, Jhujhár Khán, despairing of his master's cause, made it over to Rái Surjan Háḍá a vassal of Udai Singh. It was invested in the fourth year of the reign but no decisive result was obtained, owing to the imbroglio with Bairám Khán. Now, on his return from Ajmír, Akbar despatched against it those *amírs* who had not served at Chítor, placing them under the command of Ashraf Khán.† Hardly had they set forth when news was brought that the Mírzás—who had quarrelled with their benefactor Chingíz Khán and had left Gujrat—had made a descent upon imperial territory and were laying siege to Ujjain. Ashraf's march was therefore, diverted and he moved to relieve Ujjain. His troops were reinforced on the way and the mere news of his approach drove the Mírzás to retreat towards Mandú. They were closely pursued across the Narbadah and, with great loss, turned again to Gujrát. This success notwithstanding, Ashraf Khán fell into disfavour at court, because he and the other leaders were accused of slackness in the pursuit of the rebels, an accusation afterwards discovered to be unfounded. The Emperor now determined to act in person against Rantanbhúr but before again girding on his sword and placing himself at the head of his brave warriors, he prayed at his father's tomb that strength and courage might be vouchsafed him, for well he knew that the mighty levies of two of his royal forbears had been shattered on the rock of Rantanbhúr. On 9th February 1569, the imperialists pitched their

21st Sha'bán 976 H.

* Chalmers I, 339, Blochmann 436.

† Tárikh-i-Alfí (Elliot V, 175-6,) Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V, 330-332), Firishtah (Briggs II, 232-3.) Abul Fazl. (Chalmers I, 526-534.)

tents before the fort which stands on a hill, almost inaccessible but commanded by another eminence which is called the Ran and which lies within gun-shot. The is so steep that Badáoní * says even an ant's foot would slip in ascending it yet Akbar contrived to have fifteen guns dragged to its summit. The bombardment was brief—from this advantageous position almost every ball hit its mark and one of the first did great damage to the Rájah's palace: Surjan Háḍá must soon have seen that further resistance would be not only useless but ruinous to him and his. He consequently sent his sons, Daudá and Bhoj to negociate with Akbar who willingly came to terms for it was ever his principle to meet a brave adversary magnanimously. After the concession of free exit to the garrison and a three days' truce for the evacuation of the fort, Surjan Háḍá paid homage. This was on Wednesday, 22nd March and on this occasion he surrendered the keys of the fort which were made of gold and silver, an unintentional symbol of the high price at which they had been purchased, for he received at Akbar's hands the lucrative government of Garha-Katanga and to his sons also were given considerable appointments. By this generous treatment, Akbar transformed a dangerous enemy into an ally.

3rd Shawwál 976H.

At the time of his departure for Rantanbhúr, Akbar had sent Majnún Khán Qáqshál with a large force against Kálinjar,† that place of peril which Sher Sháh

* Bádáoní II, 107 (Ed. Nassau Lees, 3 vols, 8vo. Calcutta, 1865) by the kind co-operation of Prof. George Hoffmann.

† Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V, 333; Chalmers I, 534-5); for situation, etc., of the fort see Description of the Antiquities of Kálinjar, F. Maisey, Journal A. S., March 1848.

had beleaguered for five months and under the walls of which he had met death. It belonged to Rájah Rám Chand Bagheláh of Bhath who was a prince far too well versed in affairs to push matters to extremity for the sake of maintaining his independence. Already, in obedience to an imperial command, veiled it is true in the guise of a request, he had, though with sore heart, sent his minstrel Tánsen to A'grah. The ruined battlements of Chítor were too eloquent to permit him to tempt a similar fate; Kálinjar opened its gates, after a bare day's siege and on 12th August 1569, an embassy proceeded from its Rájah to offer gifts to Akbar. After these occurrences, the princes of Jodhpúr and Bíkánír judged it discreet to make submission and on 15th November 1570, when the Emperor, returning from Ajmír, was in camp at Nágor, there arrived to do homage Chandar Sen, Máldeo's son and the Rájah of Bíkánír, Kalyán Mall with his son, Rái Rái Singh.* The Bíkánír Rájah had been a friend of Bairám Khán; he gave a daughter in marriage to Akbar, his son entered the royal service while he himself who was so fat that he could hardly sit his horse, was allowed to return home. At about this time, the petty Rájah of Hijlí, in the remote borders of Bíhar sent an envoy to the Emperor such that on account of his insignificant appearance, he had difficulty in obtaining an audience. He proferred a knife, carefully concealed within a staff and which possessed the virtue of healing swellings of every kind; "gold and silver, he thought, were unworthy the proud occa-

29th Çafar 977H.

16th Jumáda II. 978H.

* Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V, 335-6,) Blochmann 357.

sion.*" The first part of Akbar's task was now accomplished : spite of bloodshed and though the tale of his fallen enemies could be estimated by the pile of their *zinárs*,—the sacred threads which every Hindú of good caste wears on his breast or neck,—† the vanquished were soon to learn that their new suzerain was skilful to heal the wounds he had inflicted. Resistance once broken down, he became a magnanimous friend and protector and, although years had yet to pass before the pain of lost freedom was stilled, the victor of Chìtor now lives in Rajpút memory, as a just and eminent sovereign. Is it strange that in time, Rajpúts grew proud to serve their conqueror and to troop under his banner. Later it will be seen that, under the leading of their own princes, they went willingly to death for Akbar : they fought for him against those brave sectaries, the Yúsufzaís through long years in the distant west on the other side of the Indus— that limit of Hindú peoples—as far as the deadly glaciers of the Hindú Kush ; they defended too the eastern frontier as far as the primeval forests of Arakan and gave their aid to stretch the empire northward to Kashmír and southward to the Dak'hin. When Bábar had conquered Ráná Sánká at Chanwa he assumed the Moslim title of "*Ghází*" but Akbar with wise moderation, avoided all expression of triumph which could wound Rájpút

33. Chalmers I, 535.

34. The weight of the *zinárs* must have reached 74½ maunds. Tod says that since the fall of Chítór the number 74½ has been held accursed ; and a letter bearing it upon its seal is inviolable in Rájástán : according to popular belief, he who should break the seal would take upon himself the sin of the massacre of Chítor. This may possibly serve as an explanation of what is said by Elliot (Beames) II, 69 and in the review of that work by Prof. Albrecht Weber, Indische Streifen, Leipzig, 1879, 8vo. III, 35-6.

susceptibilities; at the close of the Chítor campaign, he caused a simple pyramidal column of white stone to be erected where his tent had stood. This monument is 35 feet high, its summit was crowned by a huge lamp which was reached by a spiral inner staircase. It stands uninjured to this day, save for the disappearance of the lamp. If a traveller asks the purpose of this building from the hunter or wood-gatherer he may chance to meet in the surrounding solitude of dense thorn jungle, each will simply say, "*Akbarka diyá*" "It is Akbar's lamp."* Something more the Emperor did in commemoration of his capture of Chítor; before the gate of his palace at Dihlí,† he erected two gigantic stone elephants, each of which bore a knightly figure; they honoured the memory of his fallen adversaries, Jai Mall and Pata of whom the figures were representative. Of all Indian monuments of which Bernier speaks, these two made upon him the most profound impression. Towards the end of the last century when the Marhattas conquered Dihlí, they wreaked their wanton rage on these magnificent statues which thereafter disappeared from their places for many years. It was supposed that they had either been broken up or thrown into the Jamnah but when, after the suppres-

* It is doubtful whether this column ought to be regarded as a trophy. It certainly marks the site of camp but it was erected during the siege and its lamp served (so says Tod) as a beacon for foragers or to denote the imperial headquarters. Trs.

† De Imperio Magni Mogolis sive India Vera, *etc.*: De Laët. Lugduni Batavorum (Ed. Elzevir,) anno 1631, p. 171(? 185 Trs.) states, that Akbar caused two stone elephants to be placed in front of his palace in Agrah in remembrance of this deed of arms. Sitting on one of these was represented a commander of the Emperor's army: on the other "Tzimel Patha." Manifestly this name is an anagram of the names of the Rájpút heroes Jai Mall and Pata, fused into that of one mighty warrior. (See also idem pp. 177, 186.)

sion of the Mutiny of 1857-8, the English revolutionized the interior of the city of Dihlí, the two elephants were found, uninjured but riderless, buried twelve feet underground. They were disinterred and now stand in a public garden, surrounded by palms and luxuriant-creepers.* So natural are they in form and colour that one might easily be misled to think them living. Thus Akbar honoured the memory of his vanquished foes and thus assured his own fame by means more generous than the erection of lofty columns of victory.

* One elephant only is standing in the garden. For an account of the conflict of opinion as to origin and history of the statues see Mr. H G. Keene's "Handbook to Dilhi." Appendix A. Trs.

CHAPTER II.

GUJRÁT.

PARTLY by arms, partly by the no less efficient means of conciliation, the independent power of the Rájpúts was broken; the possession of Málwah assured, and the road to Gujrát opened. Without anxiety, the Emperor could now move south for the reduction and restoration to his rule of the former provinces of the empire.

Gujrát, the ancient Suráshtra (the Goodly Land), has at all times been an important part of India and, although lying apart from the highways of immigration, has exercised no inconsiderable influence upon the rest of Hindústán by reason of the fertility of its soil and a position favouring maritime commerce. Its political frontier has certainly varied much in the course of time, but its natural limits are better defined than those of adjacent countries. Segregated by nature, Gujrát in some particulars led an isolated existence and developed upon its own lines. Intellectual progress kept step with its rapid march in agriculture, trade and commerce and, in happy contrast with a later age, ripened its most generous fruit—toleration in matters of belief. Evidence of this toleration may yet be seen in the decrees chiselled on the rock of Girnár by command of the famous Buddhist king, Asoka, in about the middle of the third century before Christ.* When the

* Köppen I, c. I, 117.

Buddhists were uprooted from Hindústán, the Jains, their kindred in faith, were hard beset to evade bráhmanical persecution. They found refuge in Gujrát where they chose Mount Abú for the site of their principal temple, the stately buildings of which to this day crown its summit.

Tradition, as handed down in the Mirát-Ahmadí,* says that Gujrát was anciently possessed by a number of Rájpút nobles who were independent in all respects save an obligation to pay an annual tribute to Rájah Phúr, the then Déva Rájah of Kanáuj, their suzerain. It once happened that Rájah Phúr put to death a faithless servant; the dead man's wife fled to Gujrát and on her way gave birth to a son in the wilderness who was discovered by Sil Déva and reared at Palanpúr. On arriving at man's estate the youth, following the evil example of his associates, went astray and became

* The Political and Statistical History of Gujrát, trs. from the Persian of 'Alí Muhammad Khán by James Bird, Lond. 1835, pp., 137 *et seq.* 'Alí Mu. Khán was born in 1699 and in 1747-8 was *díwán* (*finance minister*) of Gujrát. An upright man, of calm and temperate judgment, and a close observer, he had in early youth trained himself to note down all important impressions and experiences (Bird l. c. 101). From predilection he had occupied himself with Gujrát and had long cherrished the plan of writing its history. During many years he industriously collected and sifted his materials. The fruit of his researches was the Mirát Ahmadí which in its three parts describes the early history of Gujrát, its subjection to Moslim kings and its condition as a province of Akbar's empire. The most important part of his work are his statistics—the estimates and facts of internal administration which he sifted laboriously and with a painstaking accuracy, have an incalculable value for the Indian historian. He is completely master of his dull army of figures and this is the more remarkable because the light play of Oriental fancy readily derives vast results from ill-grounded figures. The political history is sensibly and well put together; his style has the charm of a mountain streamlet fretted by frequent obstruction; it is, in fact, a mirror reflecting his own nature and bears distinct traces of struggles with difficulties in verbal expression and of intellectual labour.

a highway robber. At length, when on one occasion he had pillaged a wealthy caravan destined for Kanáuj, ambition awoke within him. With his ill-gotten gains he founded, in somewhere about 747 A. D. the town of Nahrwála, the Paṭan of later date, established an independent principality under the name of Ban Ráj and thus from a robber became a king. During the 575 years succeeding his death, Gujrát was ruled in turn by 23 princes of the three Hindú tribes, the Cháwuras, the Chálukyas and the Baghélas.

130 H.

In 1025-6, Mahmúd Ghaznaví's marauding expedition against the temple of Síva at Sómnáth on the south-west point of the peninsula of Káthíwár, broke up the earlier peace. It was the first of the long succession of those Moslim wars of conquest which drew the kings of Gujrát into ever closer dependence upon the Muhammadans, and inextricably bound the fate of the province to that of the rest of Hindústán until, at the end of the 13th century, it was completely subjugated by 'Aláuddín Khiljí and from that time forth, as 'Alí Muhammad says, its rulers were nominees of the sulṭáns of Dihlí.

416 H.

In 1408, the then governor of Gujrát, Zafar Khán, at the solicitation of his grandees, took advantage of the disorders which had broken out among the successors of Fíruz Sháh III. of Dihlí, to renounce his allegiance. His sulṭán, Muhammad Tughlaq Sháh II. had already conferred upon him the title of 'Azím Humáyún and the royal insignia of a red canopy; Zafar now established an independent kingdom and assumed the name of Muzaffar Sháh.

810 H.

His dynasty ruled from 1408 to 1572 and strove with some success both to increase its temporal power and to spread the faith of Islám. Muzaffar Sháh's grandson and successor, Ahmad, built Ahmadábád* which became later on a famous and splendid city. The majority of his successors were incapable of bearing rule and, as many of them were mere children at the time of their accession, they became the facile tools of parties. The court of Gujrát was long the theatre of intrigue, and of violent and crafty deeds in which the last word was often spoken by poison or the dagger, while the evils of a rule of eunuchs and favourites displayed themselves in all their depravity. The province nevertheless waxed in power and importance; a desire for wider authority awoke in its kings and they gradually began to intermeddle in the affairs of Málwah and of the Dak'hin. Of them the most remarkable and the most ambitious was Humáyún's contemporary, Bahádur Shah; a man gifted

810-980 H.

* Ahmadábád, i. e., Ahmad's settlement, lies 490 miles S. W. of Dihli in 23°1′ N. L. and 72°42′ E. Lg. on the Sábarmatí which has its source in a mountain on the confines of Márwár and Gujrát. Ahmadábád should not be called a town but an agglomeration of towns. Its walls have a circumference of over five miles; are 13 feet in height and defended by towers erected at intervals of 50 paces; 18 gates once opened for the ingress and egress of traffic. A varied succession of marvellous memorial buildings meet the eye; the giant structure of the Jumá Masjíd, the great mosque built by the founder of the city; the Ivory Mosque in which the marble slabs are delicately inlaid with ivory splendid fountains; honoured sepulchres rich in alabaster fretwork; gloomy cave temples of the Jains magnificent aqueducts, gardens and tanks of romantic beauty, and spacious *karavanserais*. Trade flourishes even at the present day and Ahmadábád garments of gold and silver tissue work, and steel and wood carvings are carried far and wide. The ancient splendour and magnificence of this "city of tombs and ruins" is however past; here too the Mahrattas, the "vandals of the East' wrought havoc and desolation.

Cities of Gujaráshtra by H. C. Briggs. Bombay 1849,4° p. 192 *et seq.* Architecture of Ahmadábád by C. Hope and J. Fergusson, Lond. 1866, 4°.

with an unwearіable activity and whose enterprises were often crowned with great success. He overpowered Mahmud II. of Málwah and, as has been mentioned, stormed Chítor. This last act gave the motive for Humáyún's attack on Gujrát and, in 1535, brought about its nine months' subjection to the Mughuls, a subjection which served Akbar as an argument for undertaking the reconquest of his "paternal province." While Patháns and Chágatáïs were wrestling for supremacy in northern India, Gujrát being left to itself, relapsed into its old party quarrels. Three boys in succession were raised to the throne, their leading strings being held by some one of the Gujrátí nobles who was the despot of the day and who misused the pageant sovereignty to aggrandize his own family. Following this example, each other noble pursued only his personal advantage and made himself practically independent in his fief.

941-2. H.

Bahádur was succeeded by Mahmúd II. who was murdered by his slave Burhán. His successor, Ahmad II. was put out of the way by his guardian I'timád Khán* who was originally a Hindú slave; after whom a boy, named Nathú, concerning whom I'timád Khán swore on the Qorán that he was a son of Mahmúd II. was called to the throne under the title of Muzaffar III.

While the nobles, under pretext of governing the kingdom during Nathú's minority, practically divided it amongst themselves, the quarrels which resulted from this state of affairs became the more mischievous that the king sought to take part in them. His

* Blochmann 385-6. He encouraged scientific research and his extensive and valuable library was subsequently taken to the capital by the Emperor's order. Badáoní, Elliot V, 519.

personal insignificance notwithstanding, he was, like all Gujrátís, an intriguer and, according to his necessities, threw himself into the arms now of one, now of another.

Chingiz Khán, a former Túrkí slave, the lord of Chámpánír, Broach and Súrat and the earlier supporter of the Mírzás, had compelled I'timád Khán to desert Muzaffar but was himself murdered shortly afterwards by two of his rivals. On hearing of his death, the Mírzás who, after their last attempt on Ujjain, had fled before Ashraf Khán and the imperial troops, formed the design of entering upon the inheritance of Chingiz. It was not difficult for them, in the general confusion, to get possession of the three important places named above and they thus acquired a voice in the fate of Gujrát. I'timád Khán was crafty and lucky enough to recover control of the king's person and with it of the kingdom but adherents failed him— Muzaffar threw him over for another grandee, Sher Khán Fúládí, and expelled him from Ahmadábád. He therefore tried to come to a provisional understanding with the Mírzás and, at the same time, negociated with Akbar to procure, as Firistah avers, the subjection of Gujrát and its re-incorporation with the empire of Dihlí. The existing state of affairs is thus strikingly described by 'Alí Muhammad :* "The learned and "observing well know that a cause for the decline of "every empire which has existed since the beginning of "the world, may be found in the animosities of its nobles "assisted by rebellious subjects whose mutiny and en- "deavours, thank God ! generally revert on themselves, "so that some more fortunate rival steps in and profits

* Bird 301.

"thereby. Such was the end of the kings and nobles of "Gujrát, as will be here explained. Fate having decreed "the destruction of the government, its servants, by "disregarding all sacred ties in the midst of rebellions, "went to war among each other; so, under the sem- "blance of friendship, they openly committed acts of "hostility, until at length those parties being set aside, "the powers and seals of this kingdom were transferred "to the hands of the illustrious descendant of Timur, "Jaláluddín Muhammad Akbar."

"Now" says Nizámuddín Ahmad, "that His "Majesty's mind was quite set at rest by the suppression "of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he "turned his attention to the conquest of Gujrát." While the various imperial commanders,* some being Hindús, some Muhammadans, went on in advance towards Gujrát with their contingents, Akbar left Síkrí on 2nd July 1572, and marching by Sangánír, arrived at Ajmír on the 26th, where he performed his customary devotions. From Ajmír the Khán-i-Kalán, (commander-in-chief) Mír Muhammad Khán Atka advanced with 10,000 horse, the Emperor following later to Nágor, the rendezvous of his forces. From Nágor his march lay by Mirt'ha and Sirohí to Nahrwála (Paṭan). On the way there were several skirmishes with isolated bodies of Rájpúts. The commander-in-chief had been commissioned to bring about an accommodation with the Rájah of Sirohí and when dismissing the Rájpút envoys, had been treacherously stabbed by one of their party. To avenge this crime,

20th Çafar 980 H.

15 Rabí'u-l awwal.

* Chalmers II, 2-79; Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V, 339, 370; Firishtah. Briggs II, 235 *et seq.* and IV, 155 *et seq.*; 'Alí Mu., Bird 301-348.

Sirohí was attacked after the Emperor's junction with the advanced force. In the fight which ensued, many of its inhabitants made expiation with their lives, the slaughter being especially great near the temple of Síva. From Sirohí, Rái Rái Singh, son of the Rájah of Bíkánír was sent in force to keep open the road to Gujrát and to make sure of his countrymen, the Rájpúts of Jodhpúr, a movement which prevented all serious opposition. Before the army reached Paṭan, Mán Singh was detached to capture Sher Khán Fúládí who, with other local grandees, had quitted Ahmadábád at the news of the Emperor's approach, but he was able to overtake the baggage only of the fugitives and returned to the camp laden with booty. The revenues of Paṭan were assigned for the maintenance of 'Abdurráhim, the son of Akbar's once beloved guardian, Bairám Khán but, on account of his youth, Sayyid Ahmad Khán of Bárha was appointed to assist him. 'Abdurrahím was now 17 years old and was amongst the special favourites of Akbar, by whom he had been reared and educated with the utmost care and who, on account of his sense and knowledge, had bestowed on him the title of Mírzá Khán. It is recorded that while at Paṭan,* Akbar caused 'Abdurrahím to repeat again to him the details of his father's murder. At Chotánah, on the way to Ahmadábád, word was brought to Akbar that Muzaffar Sháh, the king of Gujrát, † had fled with Sher Khán Fúládí but that, being terrified by the close pursuit of the imperialists, he had left him and was now wandering

* Blochmann l. c., 334.

† According to the Mírat Sikanderí, Muzaffar Sháh was the first to do homage to Akbar. See Bird l. c. 338 and also Tabaquáti-Akbarí; Abul Fazl (Chalmers II, 6.) is the authority for the narrative as given in the text.

aimlessly in the neighbourhood of Chotánah. Several officers were thereupon told off to track the missing king and bring him to the Emperor. His royal umbrella and canopy were soon found, at the edge of a cornfield, and a short search sufficed to disclose Muzaffar, lying hidden in the corn. Such an enemy could not be dangerous ; the Emperor pitied the unfortunate youth, received him kindly and sent him as his guest to Agrah.

By the removal of the puppet king, Akbar became virtual ruler of Gujrát and the chiefs dared no longer delay their homage. Such of them as betook themselves without reserve to the royal camp were received with the utmost friendliness but amongst the earliest was not numbered the wily I'timád Khán, although he had been the first Gujrátí to make advances to the Emperor and although it was he who had invited Akbar to seize the abandoned province. Timorous suspicion is wont to be paired with craft. At the last moment he hesitated to make his submission. On 14th November, Shah Fakhruddín Músawí and Hakím 'Ain-ul-Mulk reported that "he had set out "to join the camp. During the march from Cotanah to "the next stage, I'timád Khán arrived in the near "neighbourhood and Khwájah Jahán and Mír Abú Turáb "were despatched to meet and conduct him to the royal "presence where he was received by Akbar on his ele-"phant. Other chiefs now came in * * and while all "were encouraged with the words of hope, I'timád Khán "and some of the grandees were permitted to ride in the "immediate cortêge of the royal person." *A considerable

7th Rajab.

* Chalmers II, 6. Trs.

number of Gujrátís joined the camp at Suteekh and some mischievous persons spread a report that the Emperor had given orders for their quarter to be looted. A mob of loose followers, such as hang on the skirts of an army, gathered together and in the ensuing tumult the baggage of Akbar's new adherents was pillaged. This outrage, committed in his immediate neighbourhood, roused Akbar to furious anger; he caused the offenders to be apprehended by the camp superintendents and trampled to death by elephants. The stolen property was restored to its owners. When justice had been thus satisfied, he mounted a throne and held a ceremonious *darbár* at which everyone, high and low, found admission and friendly reception. He thus showed his new subjects that he was bringing them a government of order and security and not an unbridled reign of terror.*

"On the 14th Rajab" says Abul Fazl, "he reached
20th November 1572. "Ahmadábád where everyone, thankful that the imperial arrival had "delivered him from sublunary distresses, hastened "around him to express his gratitude and Ahmadábád "itself, containing 380 districts, each district equal to "a city, reflected back upon his Majesty the heavenly "radiance which he bestowed."

The *khuṭbah* was read in Akbar's name and the command of the town, together with a stretch of land on the right bank of the river Mahindrí, was given to Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah. The districts of Broach, Chámpánír and Súrat which were still in the hands of the Mírzás, were assigned to various Gujrátí chiefs, supervision over

* Bird l. c. 310.

whom was given to I'timád Khán. This *parvenu*, at once feared and hated by the rest of the nobles, was well fitted by his merciless severity to curb unruly spirits; to him and the others Gujrátí *jágírdárs* command was given to ensure the immediate pacification of the country by proceeding energetically against the Mírzás.

On Monday, 8th December 1572, the Emperor went to Kambhayat (Kambay)* in order to visit the sea-coast before returning to his capital. Half-way thither came the news, anticipated by those who had warned him of the duplicity of the Gujrátís, that I'timád Khán and his associates were wavering in their fidelity and irresolute; and moreover that one of the latter, Ikhtiyárul Mulk had already deserted. Thereupon Shábáz Khán, a man of noted energy, was sent to bring the traitors as prisoners to Kambay where they were eventually left under trustworthy supervision.

2nd Sha'bán 980 H.

Kambay which is now ruined and impoverished, was, in the time of Akbar, a wealthy port and trading town; its merchants, men from Asia Minor, Damascus, Persia and Transoxania welcomed the Emperor with enthusiasm for they saw in his coming a guarantee for peace and tranquillity. From Kambay, he made his first trip to sea, spending several hours in a sailing-boat with much pleasure. On 18th December he left the city and moved towards Barodah from the neighbourhood of which place he sent a division under the Khán-i-'Alam and several well-tried officers against Súrat, the fort which was then the

12th Sha'bán.

* It lies in 22° 23′ N. L. and 72° 45′ E. L., on the gulf which bears its name and between the rivers Mahí and Sábarmatí. Briggs 169.

fulcrum of Mu. Mírzá's power. It stands on the Táptí, about twenty miles inland from the gulf of Kambay. In the night of 23rd December 1572 however, news came from Broach that Ibráhím Husain Mírzá had murdered Rustam Khán Rumí, a chief who wished to return to his allegiance, and had quitted Broach with the intention of drawing off to the north by a road at a distance of some 16 miles from the Emperor's camp, in order to raise new disturbances in his rear and in the empire tself. By this news Akbar was kindled to great anger; he at once left his head-quarters and started with a small escort to chastise the audacious rebel, at the same time sending a courier to the division which had marched for Súrat with orders for its immediate return and junction with his own force. In order not to excite attention and disregarding the remonstrances of his friends, he took with him only some two thousand men.*

17th Sha'bán.

With a native guide Akbar pressed forward, through that night and the following day, with such rapidity that when in the evening he reached the Mahindrí, he had with him only some 40 horse. From a passing *bráhman*, he learned that Ibráhim Husain Mírzá was posted in great force in Sarnál, a small town built on low hill on the opposite bank of the river. On this intelligence, his few companions somewhat lost heart and wished to conceal themselves until reinforcements should arrive. At this critical moment, the van of the troops recalled from Súrat came up. Akbar had been much chafed by the delay in their movements and now forbade them to share in the fight, but he forgave them

* Chalmers II, 13 ff. Trs.

when he heard that they had mistaken their road. Even with this addition, the force numbered only 150 or, as some say, only 100 men; word was nevertheless given for an immediate attack.* Mán Singh solicited the honour of leading the van and Akbar replied, "To-day we have no army to divide; let us keep together "and set our hearts to the combat." "It is my duty, "however," said Mán Singh, "to push on to the front if "it be but a few paces, to show my devotion to your "Majesty." This gallant request was granted and Akbar and his followers then plunged into the stream.† He reached the opposite bank in safety. Meantime Ibráhím had left the town with some two thousand troopers and was awaiting attack on a hill in its rear which he endeavoured to cover with his only gun. The stretch between the river and the town was impassable by reason of thick jungle, ditches and masses of rock. Mán Singh therefore made a bold *détour* round the town whilst Akbar threw himself into it—by a water-gate; within he met but feeble resistance and when he had cleared a passage through the block of the Mírzá's camels, horses, porters and tent-bearers in the narrow streets, he galloped out into the open by the opposite gate.

The blood of his knightly ancestors surged in his veins and as the Tátárs, brandishing lance or scimitar, spurred their steeds over the steppe and fell upon outnumbering foes and cut them down or over-rode them, so now dashed Akbar, followed only by a few; a true Chagátái, he urged on his panting war-horse and with

* Following Abul Fazl, Bird (315) gives 200 as the muster of Akbar's troops. Trs.

† Chalmers II, 13 ff. Trs.

flashing blade, dealt mighty blows upon the foremost rank of foes. Bábá Khán Qáqshál's bowmen were outmatched and beaten back; Bhúpat, Bíhárí Mall's son, threw himself with tremendous impetus upon the enemy but a well-aimed sword-thrust felled him—his horse wheeled riderless back and his panic-stricken men fell into disorder while the foe, elated by success, renewed the charge with all their strength. All fought with the courage of despair, man to man, hand to hand; when lances were splintered, when swords snapped, a couple of combatants would leap from their horses to end the deadly combat with their daggers. The numbers engaged being so small, the fight took the form of a series of brilliant duels and more resembled a tourney than a battle. Much noble blood was spilt, for grandees fought like common troopers; Mu. Khán Bárha, Bhagwán Dás, Mán Singh, Bhoj—a son of Surjan Háḍá who now gave splendid proof of his fidelity to his new sovereign,—and many another chief of renown, Hindú and Musalmán, vied in glorious deeds of arms. Still the day looked ominous for the Emperor; suddenly, two horsemen, side by side, a Chagátái and a Rájpút galloped like men in flight, along a field path hedged in by thorny *euphorbium*, towards the enemy stationed at its other end. The two were Akbar and Bhagwán Dás. Three troopers charged them, Bhagwán Dás deftly turned aside a spear which one of these aimed at him and, as his assailant got entangled in the thorny jungle, forced him by a lance-thrust to retire. Akbar had ridden in between the two other troopers and set upon them so vigorously that they made off. When the imperialists saw this bold feat of arms and the Emperor's danger, they nerved themselves to a last and decisive

charge. Again scimitars showered sparks, spears whistled, armour clashed; the Mírzá turned to flee* and his men hurried off in confusion, giving up the battle as lost. Long pursuit was forbidden by the night which "came on darker than the fate of that band, "so the Emperor gave orders to stop the pursuit." The victors returned to Sarnál and Akbar with open hand showered rewards upon the heroes of this two hours' fierce tilting.†

The investment of Súrat was now undertaken; it surrendered, after a resistance of one month and seventeen days, on 26th February, 1573. According to Abul Fazl, it was during this siege that Akbar was first brought in contact with the Portuguese but it is to be assumed that he had already seen some of their missionaries. The bombardment had already begun when a large body of Goanese Christians appeared before the walls; presumably they had contemplated taking part in the defence for the growth and extension of the imperial power along the coasts could not but be unfavourable to their own designs. When they perceived that it was beyond their power to aid the besieged and when, at the same time, they became acquainted with the strength and capabilities of Akbar's army, they gave out that their visit was a friendly embassy to the Emperor. He probably penetrated their designs but he chose to treat them as friends and guests, gave them a gracious reception,

23rd Shawwál 980 H.

* His consort, Gúlrukh Begum, a daughter of Kámrán fled upon news of this defeat with her son, Muzaffar Husain Mírzá to the Dak'nin.

† In acknowledgment of his devoted courage Bhagwán Dás received the distinction, unprecedented in the case of a Hindú, of being allowed to use thenceforward a banner and a kettle-drum.

exchanged with them the usual gifts, discussed with their officers Portuguese and general European affairs and finally dismissed them amiably and so adroitly that they were constrained to return to Goa without having accomplished anything. This episode acquires a certain significance from the circumstance that it afforded the Emperor actual evidence of the dangerous aims of adventurers of whose dealings on the Indian seas and coasts he must already have heard.

Another incident which occurred during the siege of Sárat deserves commemoration. Like the Rájpúts, Akbar loved rash feats of arms. One evening, in camp when their brains were heated with wine, some-one was lauding Rájpút contempt for death and "stated that "the Rájpúts of Bhaganah had a game in which they "posted two men on one side with naked pikes and "placed two others exactly opposite who, upon on "a signal given, would rush upon the spears until the "points came out of their backs. 'If that be the case' "said Akbar, 'I too will run upon my sword' and "thrusting the handle into the wall prepared to execute "his words.* His companions were motionless with "consternation, Mán Singh only moved and struck the "weapon to a distance, but still the thumb and forefinger "of his Majesty were slightly cut before the weapon "was removed." Roused by this interference to violent anger, Akbar knocked down Mán Singh and only timely interposition prevented further mischief. This incident is in no way creditable to the great ruler but it ought not to be passed over without mention. "*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*"

* Chalmers II, 37. Trs.

The government of Súrat was conferred on Kaldish Khán and the army then moved to Ahmadábád. In the interim the Mírzás had stirred up fresh troubles. After his defeat at Sarnál, Ibráhím had fled towards Paṭan where he joined Sháh and Mu. Husain Mírzá. Abul Fazl says that they heaped on him the bitterest reproaches for his ill-success and that he, passionate old warrior as he was, left brother and nephew* in anger and resolved to join his younger brother Mas'úd in an expedition against Á'grah. The two others proceeded with Sher Khán Fúládí to lay siege to Paṭan. Sayyid Ahmad Khán Bárha, its governor, at once put it in a posture of defence and sent to the Súrat camp for reinforcement, in accordance with which requisition Akbar despatched 'Azíz Kokah, with the *jágírdárs* of Málwah, Ráisín and Chanderí and other chiefs. The besiegers moved some ten miles from the town and overcame the imperial right and left wings but when the victors scattered in search of plunder, the defeated Quṭbuddín Khán, having effected a junction with 'Azíz Kokah and the troops of the centre, fell upon them suddenly and won a complete victory. Sher Khán fled to Amín Khán of Júnágaṛh and the Mírzás, under close pursuit, made for the Dak'hin. These events occurred on 22nd January 1573. On 23rd February 'Azíz Kokah reappeared in the camp before Súrat and gave full details of his success.

18th Ramzán 980H.

20th Shawwál.

* Nizámuddín Ahmad certainly states (Elliot V, 351) that their agreement was to capture Á'grah and Paṭan in order to compel the Emperor to abandon the siege of Súrat and so to return to Ahmadábád. Nevertheless Abul Fazl's narrative which is the groundwork of the text seems to deserve preference.

30th Zí-l-ka'da.

On the 3rd of April of the same year, Akbar again entered Ahmadábád where he halted ten days and then started to return to Síkrí. In Haibatpúr he lavishly rewarded and dismissed his vassals to their homes. He also bestowed on Muzaffar Khán* the *jágírs* of Sárangpúr and Ujjain. When he was within a day's march of Ajmír, intelligence was brought to him that Ibráhím Mírzá was dead. Ibráhím had been followed up by the imperialists and defeated near Nágor. Thence he had fled from village to village, from town to town, accompanied by some three hundred men; at length he directed his steps to his paternal *jágír* of A'zampúr in Sambhal, his army being increased by gathering to it robbers, adventurers and other desperadoes. Spreading fire and slaughter, he entered the Punjáb; its governor Husain Qulí Khán was, at the time, occupied in besieging Nagarkót but forthwith concluded a favourable peace with its possessor, Rájah Budí Chand, and hurried to oppose Ibráhím. About 80 miles from Multán, he took Ibráhím's motley camp unawares. Mas'úd was in charge, for Ibráhím was hunting and returned only a little before the end of the engagement. The rebels were totally routed, Mas'úd was captured and Ibráhím put to hasty flight. His pursuit was again taken up by Badáoní's protector,

* Following Elliot's gloss (V, 353) of "late king of Gujrát" on the name Muzaffar Khán, our author seems here and elsewhere to have fallen into an error. When honours were bestowed on Muzaffar Khán on 18th Zílhajja 980 H, (11th March 1573) at Haibutpúr as Elliot says or Sayyidpúr as Chalmers has it, the recipient was Muzaffar Khán Turbatí and not Muzaffar Sháh Gújrátí. Perhaps the titles Khán and Sháh are in themselves sufficient to show this.

Badáoní (Lowe, Fasc. II, 153) Blochmann 349, Abul Fazl (Chalmers II, 55 & 73.)

Badáoní (Lowe, Fasc. II. 145) tells us the provision made for Muzaffar Sháh on his capture, *i. e.*, Rs. 30 per mensem. Trs.

the hair-brained, adventure-loving Husain Khán Tukriyah who hoped, Badáoní says, that the hardships and the forced march of 500 *kos* in his previous pursuit of Ibráhím had opened a way for him. Near Multán flows the Ghara, a river formed by the combined streams of the Sutlej and the Bías ;* this the baited Mírzá wished to cross but night came on, there was no boat and he rested a brief space with his comrades on the bank. He was recognized by some fishermen of an adjacent Jhil settlement who eagerly set upon his wearied party and wounded the Mírzá badly, an arrow entering his neck at the nape and coming out at the throat ; his panic-stricken people made off and he remained, wearied and wounded to death and alone save for one old and faithful slave who clave to him, wrapped him in the disguise of humble garments and led him to the poor hut of a dervish. The dervish in his turn laid him on his own bed, dressed his wounds and sent word of his presence to Sayyid Khán in Multán. Ibráhím was consequently taken to Multán and there he shortly afterwads died of his wound. Such was the end of this son of the house of Timur.

Akbar reached Síkrí on 3rd June 1573. About the same time, Husain Qulí Khán brought in 300 prisoners and among them Mas'úd Husain Mírzá. Mas'úd's eyes were sewed up but the Emperor ordered them to be opened ; the other captives were covered with the skins of hogs, asses and dogs ; of these the ringleaders died by the hand of the hangman, the rest, including Mas'úd, were pardoned.† On

2nd Çafar 981 H.

* Elliot V, 505. Trs.

† Badáoní, Elliot V, 507 *et seq.*

the same day, the head of Ibráhím was brought to Akbar from Multán, Sayyid Khán having had it cut off for the purpose. "When the Emperor," says Nizámuddín Ahmad, "returned from Gujrát, there "remained no resistance in that country, all the forts "were in the hands of his servants and such of his "troops as had not served on the campaign were sent "to strengthen A'zam Khán. But he had hardly "been six months in his capital when news of fresh "outbreaks came in, time after time, and A'zam Khán "himself wrote for reinforcements." The old disturbers of the peace had again broken out from their hiding-places; they chased off the government officials and overpowered the garrisons left behind in scattered places. The aged Ikhtiyárul Mulk had joined some adherents of Sher Khán Fúládí and marched to threaten Ahmadábád. On his way he surrounded 'Azíz Kokah in the fortified camp which the latter had formed near Ahmadnagar on his march against the rebels. The rebels next determined to throw themselves into Ahmadábád, hoping either to surprise it or to tempt 'Azíz Kokah to leave his strong position and meet them in the open. The latter however succeeded, by forced marches, in reaching Ahmadábád before them and there he remained inactive, in obedience to Akbar's injunctions not to risk a decisive battle. Meantime Mu. Husain Mírzá and Sháh Mírzá, who had awaited in the Dak'hin a favourable chance for a *coup-de-main*, returned to the neighbourhood of Súrat but were forced to retire to Broach. Here the wily leader of the gang contrived to enlist in his service a number of Qutbuddín's people. Thus strengthened, he obtained possession of Kambay which being negligently guarded was won without a

blow struck—its commander, Husain Khán Karkarah, escaping to Ahmadábád. Shortly after, Mu. Husain Mírzá joined the other rebels and the flame of revolt again blazed up; villages in ashes, plundered bázárs and grisly murder marking the track of sedition.

If at this time Ahmadábád had fallen into the hands of the rebels, not only would all hold on Gujrát have been lost but the enemy would hardly have let pass the opportunity of creating confusion in the adjacent Málwah and from it of widening their circle of mischief. Now therefore when one messenger of ill tidings followed another; it behoved Akbar to act quickly and with decision. He put everything in train, collected troops, distributed the money and accoutrements necessary for the renewed campaign, issued proclamations to the *amírs* and *jágírdárs* whom he had so lately dismissed to their homes, summoning them to bring up their contingents well-equipped for the suppression of the rebellion in Gujrát, sent Bhagwán Dás in advance with his harem and declared that, in spite of his overwhelming occupations, he would be the first to show his face to the enemy. He gave his commanders rendezvous at Paṭan and on 23rd August 1573 left Síkrí with a following of about 500, among whom were several noted leaders. The party rode swift she-camels such as are usually employed on forced marches; most led their saddle-horses and as almost no baggage was taken, it was feasible, even with bouts of unfavourable weather and over bad roads, to cover the 800 miles between Síkrí and Paṭan without a halt, in the unexampled space of nine days and nights.*

24th Rabí'u-s sání 981H.

* Chalmers (II, 63) has a note that the nine days must be an error for eleven. Trs.

On 30th August 1573,* at Bálísána, about 5 miles south-east of Paṭan, Akbar came up with his army. He had been unweariable; like his companions, he had eaten whatever food was to be found on the road and had rested only when no one could follow him. As soon as he had touched the goal of this exhausting journey and when 3,000 men had joined him from Paṭan, he determined, without resting, without hesitation, without further reinforcement, to press on to the relief of Ahmadábád although by this time 20,000 foes were gathered before it. On his way, an engagement took place at Karí with Rolíyá, an adherent of Sher Khán Fúládí, in which victory remained to the imperialists. Subsequent to this, A'çaf Khán was sent ahead to announce to the beleaguered 'Azíz Kokah that relief was coming. The army reached the outskirts of Ahmadábád almost unobserved and in complete order of battle and the enemy was terrified out of an unwatchful supineness by the sound of the royal trumpets and kettle-drums. When morning dawned, Mu. Husain Mírzá advanced with some other horsemen to the bank of the river (Sábarmatí) in order to ascertain who the newcomers might be and Nizámuddín Ahmad relates that "it so happened that Subhán "Qulí Túrk had also gone down to the river with two or "three men from our side. Mu. Husain Mírzá called "out to Subhán Khán Qulí, inquiring whose army it "was and he was answered, it was the Emperor's who "had marched from Fathpúr to punish traitors. The

2nd Jumáda I. 981H.

* The route lay past Todah, Hans-mahál, Mu'izábád, Ajmír, Mírt'ha, Jítáran, Sojhat, Pálí, Bhagwánpúr, Jálor, Pattanwál, Dísa and Bálísána. Considerable delay occurred between Pálí and Jálor, occasioned in part by the disobedience of the followers to the Emperor's orders.

"Mírzá replied, 'My spies have informed me that four-"teen days ago the Emperor was at Fathpúr; and if "this is the imperial army, where are the royal elephants "which always accompany it?' Subhán Qulí said, 'How "could elephants have travelled with us 400 *kos* in nine "days?' Mu. Husain returned amazed and troubled to "his army, and drawing out his forces he prepared for "battle. He directed Ikhtiyár Khán to take 5,000 horse "and prevent 'Azíz Kokah from sallying out of the city." The Mírzás placed Abysinnians and Gujrátís on their right wing; their left was formed by Afgháns under a son of Sher Khán Fúládí; in the centre under Sháh Mírzá were ranged Badakhshís and men of Trans-oxania, of whom Abul Fazl says that "the very marrow of their bones seemed nourished by habitual sedition."

Akbar placed 'Abdurráhim Mírzá in his centre; his right was under Mír Muhammad, the commander-in-chief; his left under Vazír Khán. He put himself at the head of 100 picked cuirassiers to be ready to turn the balance of battle wherever danger threatened and need was greatest. "When it came to crossing there was some "indecision and Akbar only and a few personal grandees "first crossed. An enemy's head being brought to him, "this happy omen caused the chiefs who had held back "to forget their caution and venture across the stream."* The battle remained long undecided; at some points Akbar's troops yielded and there he charged "like a fierce tiger" into the enemy's serried line; "*Alláhu Akbar*" resounded with new vigour and the Mírzás gave way perforce under the impact of the enthusiasts. Mu. Husain was wounded, thrown from his horse and taken

* Chalmers II, 65. Tr.

prisoner. "Victory now declared itself on every side "and his Majesty returned triumphant to his couch "which was placed at the edge of the battle-field and "there he offered up his thanks for the victory vouch-"safed." When the defeated Mu. Husain was brought before Akbar and several laid claim to the honour of his capture, Rájah Bír Bar asked him who had made him prisoner. To this he tersely replied, "The salt "of the lord of the faith and of the world has taken "me."* Akbar spoke kindly to him and (a significant sign) placed him under the special charge of a Rájpút, Rái Rái Singh. Among the prisoners was a certain Mard Azmái Sháh, a foster brother of the captive Mírzá and who had killed Bhúpat, brother of Bhagwán Dás at Sarnál. For his brother-in-law's sake, Akbar took upon himself the satisfaction of the blood feud and, as Mard was led forward, transfixed him with a spear.

After the fight, the imperialists dispersed at ease; some tended their wounded friends, others plundered their fallen enemies; some rested, while others wandered along the stream to water their horses and to quench their own thirst. Akbar had lain down on a carpet spread on the bank of the river and, surrounded by a few confidants, was enjoying a short repose after the enormous exertions of the last few days. Suddenly, a new foe was announced; it was Ikhtiyárul Mulk who on hearing of the Mírzá's defeat had hastened to his aid from Ahmadábád. The confusion among the Emperor's people was indescribable; even the bravest were for the moment bewildered; a drummer who was near

* The salt which he had eaten at the Emperor's table, *i. e.*, the obligations of hospitality and fidelity to his entertainer which he had disregarded.

Akbar was rendered motionless by terror and was first brought to his senses by the Emperor's uplifted lance when he sounded the alarm with redoubled energy and gathered a few soldiers round their lord. Akbar's attack was opened by his bowmen who "poured a hail of "arrows on the enemy. Simultaneously his little troop "threw themselves upon the rebel cavalry, among whom "they caused such panic that the royal troops pulled the "arrows out of the quivers of the fugitives and used them "against them." Ikhtiyárul Mulk lost both battle and life and his dripping head was brought in by a Túrkomán soldier.* During the engagement, Mu. Husain Mírzá was put to death by his guards, without express order but under pressure from Bhagwán Dás who apprehended that he might escape, and by this *officiosa sedulitas* Akbar was rid of his most formidable opponent. After the victory, 'Azíz Kokah with other officers came from Ahmadábád to the battlefield and was warmly welcomed by the Emperor who, on 2nd Sep. 1573, led his triumphant army into the city, where he was enthusiastically greeted. After resting for a few days in the palace of his foster-brother, he set his face towards his favourite A'grah. So rapidly and well had this expedition been managed that he arrived there after an absence of only 43 days (on Monday 6th Oct.) As he drew near Síkrí,† he mounted his warhorse, a

5th Jumáda I. 981H.

8th Jumáda-l II.

* The Emperor had a pyramid made of the skulls of his slaughtered enemies (there were over 2,000). Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V, 368.

† Síkrí was doubly dear to Akbar, first because the honoured and pious Pír Salím Mu'ínuddín Chishtí dwelt there, and secondly because Akbar's sons Salím (afterwards the Emperor Jahángír) and Murád were born there in the house of the Pír on 31st August 1569 and 7th June 1570 respectively. Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V, 334, and Chalmers I, 340.

19th Rabí I. 977H.

3rd Muharram 978H.

grey charger with henna-stained mane and tail and took his spear in his hand ; before him rode his faithful comrades and his bodyguard, having their lances adorned with golden apples. His household and those grandees who had remained in Síkrí came to the foot of the hill to meet him ; the sound of their acclamation mingled with the strains of the royal band which from the portals of the Jumá Masjid published far and wide the news of victory. Well might Akbar be content with the result of his rapid and fortunate campaign and, to honour deeds of arms of which he had a full right to be proud, he now affixed to the name of Síkrí the *prænomena* "Fathpúr—" *the city of victory.*

CHAPTER III.

BENGAL.

THOUGH from time immemorial all India has been regarded as the home of marvels, a truly fabulous splendour hovers over her eastern lands, the low countries of the Ganges. The latent longing which drives a man forth and renders his desire for travel the more ardent as his goal is distant or difficult, conjures up for him, with wondrous colour and gigantic form, the magnificence, the beauty, and the riches of those lands; while the stories which occasional travellers have borne westward, strengthen the belief that there, as actualities, have lived the dreams of man's childhood. There dwelt descendants of the ancient Aryans, a gentle and peaceful race assuredly, living lightly in careless enjoyment of the present, under a sun whose rays induce the utmost luxuriance in nature, but compel a vegetative existence to man. Delicate in build, unwarlike and effeminate, Bengalís have developed barely the rudiments of poetic creation or scientific activity; unlike other Hindús, they have never forgotten the practical demands of life, to plunge into the abyss of inner contemplation or into dreams of the last problem of Being. They have been none the less vain and self-conceited that, by reason of their weakness and cowardice, they have been lightly esteemed by their fellow-Hindús of Upper India who as well as the Moslim immigrants, even after cen-

turies of settlement among them have despised them and have carefully sought to establish their own non-Bengalí origin.* The sober-spoken † Ibn Batutah describes Bengal as a hell rich in blessings, in other words, as an infernal paradise. It is a tract of some 204,000 square miles ; covered by a close network of rivers, the arteries of widely-ramifying trade : the deposits of these rivers which frequently overflow their banks and indeed change their course, provide the *ráiyat* with a soil admirably adapted to the growth of rice and numerous other cereals. Here flourishes in luxuriance the splendid and varied vegetation of the tropics and here is a *fauna* hardly equalled elsewhere in diversity. At the present day, Bengal contains a population of over 60 millions. In the prae-Muhammadan era, it appears to have been divided into five districts: (1) "Rádha, the country west of the Húglí and south of the Ganges ; (2) Bagdi, the delta of the Ganges ; (3) Banga, the country to the east of and beyond the delta ; (4) Barendra, the country to the north of the Padma and between the Karatoyá and the Mahánandá rivers ; (5) Mithilá, the country west of the Mahánandá."

Reliable information is so singularly meagre that there can be no question of an accurate history of ancient Bengal.‡ At the time when the heroes of the Mahábhárata were fighting amongst themselves, Bengal

* Description of Hindostan and the adjacent Countries, by W. Hamilton, in two volumes, 4°. Lon. 1820, I. 94 *et seq.* Highly edifying and readable even at the present time is the short sketch of Bengal in the Pilgrimage of the worthy Rev. Samuel Purchas ; see Early Travels in India, Series I. Calcutta, 1864, 8°.

† Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah par Defrémery et Sanguinetti, Paris, 1858, 8° IV., 210.

‡ Indische Alterthumskunde, Lassen III., 717 ; Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, II., 187 ; Gladwin, l. c. 20.

must have belonged to the kingdom of Magadha, on the downfall of which it attained greater independence. Several Hindú families, sprung from the earlier conquerors, were domiciled as independent rulers in Bengal. As elsewhere in Hindústán, here also the priestly caste, the *bráhmans*, acceded to the highest power. Adiçúra, the ruler of Gaura (Bengal), summoned to his kingdom five priests from Qanauj (Kanyákúbja) and endowed them with rich possessions; they soon formed a widespread fraternity, side-by-side with whom subsisted the so-called "seven-hundred" *bráhmans*, whose descendants are still to be found in almost every hamlet.

More profitable information as to past ages is to be extracted from the history of Ballálasena and his successors; he was nominally the offspring of the wife of Adiçúra and the Bráhmapútra incarnate in form of a *bráhman*. The most noteworthy of his successors was Lakshmanasena, who founded for his capital, Lakshmanavatí (Lak'hnautí, Gáuḍá, Gaur). The last Indian king of Bengal, Lakshmaníya,* transferred the seat of Government to the extreme south of his kingdom, to Navadwípa, (New Island, Nadiyá).† As his soothsayers had foretold, he was forced to yield to the bands of Moslim robbers who in 1198-9, under the brave Mu. Bakhtyár Khiljí,‡ Quṭbuddín of Dihlí's general, planted

595H.

* Hamilton, (l. c. I. 114), states that the last ruler was popularly known as Su Sen.

† In 23° 25′ N. L. and 88° 24′ E. L.

‡ Sprung from the Afghán Ghoris and a man of such hideous countenance that several leaders rejected his proferred service, but he finally won a prominent position and great reputation by his glorious military undertakings. It is noteworthy and singular that he was remarkable, as were subsequently Timur and Akbar, for the extraordinary length of his arms.

the crescent in the south-eastern divisions of Mithilá, in Barendra, the northern parts of Rádha, and the north-western tracts of Bagdi.* The power and

* As guides for the following introductory sketch, there have been used Ch. Stewart's History of Bengal, Lond. 1813, 4°; Gladwin l. c. II. 4 *et seq.*; and the first of Blochmann's three admirable contributions to the J. A. S. (Bengal), entitled "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal," etc.: (J. A. S. 1873), (p. 209-307) 1874. (p. 280-309) 1875 (p. 275-306) and also in the issue for 1873 p. 220-241. He gives the frontiers of Muhammadan Bengal substantially as follows:—

(*a.*) In the N.-W. the frontier extended but little beyond the Kosí river; but under some of the early Mu. governors and the independent kings, the Bengal Empire included all upper Bihár north of the Ganges as far as Sáran. South of the Ganges the furtherest established point was Garhí, the key of Bengal, as Sahwán on the Indus was of Sind. From Garhí the frontier passed along the Ganges to the south of Á'g-Mahall (Ráj-Mahall), when it again turned westward to north-western Bírbhúm, passing along the boundary of the modern Santál Parganas to the confluence of the Barákar and the Damúdar, from where it went along the left bank of the Damúdar to the neighbourhood of the town of Bardwán. From here it again took a westerly direction, and passed along the N.-W. and W. boundaries of the modern Húglí and Howrah (Habṛah) districts down to Mandalghát where the Rúpnáráyan flows into the Húglí river.

(*b.*) The southern frontier was the northern outskirt of the Sundarban from Hatiágaṛh, south of Diamond Harbour on the Húglí, to Bágherat in southern Jessore, and to the Haring'hátá, *i.e.*, along the s. *mahálls* of *sirkárs* Sátgáon, and Khalífátábád. Beyond the Haring'hátá, the frontier comprised *sirkárs* Baklá and Fathábád with the islands of Dak'hin Shahbázpúr and Sondíp at the mouth of the Megna.

(*c.*) The eastern frontier extended from Sunnárgáon and the Megna northward, and then passed to the east, including the district of Sylhet It passed along the southern slopes of the Jaintiah, Khasiah, and Gáro Hills to *maháll* Sherpúr in northern Mymensingh to the east bank of the Bráhmapútra near Chilmári, and from here along the river to *maháll* Bhítarband, which formed the N.-E. frontier. The frontier *sirkárs* were Sunnárgáon Bázúha, Sylhet and G'horág'hát. These districts early appeared a desirable aïm to the conquest-loving Assamese.

(*d.*) The northern frontier passed from Bhítarband, near the bend of the Bráhmapútra, and in later times from Gauhattí in Kámrúp over K'hontag'hát, along the southern portions of Kuch Bihár to *maháll* Pátgáon (or Pátgrám) and from there along the foot of the hills and forests of Sikkim and Nepál to the northern portions of the Púrniah district.

N. B.—Throughout this chapter, in order to avoid confusions, the work just cited will be designated Blochmann J. A. S. B.

territory of the Moslims gradually increased and there where the Muhammadan era opens, we touch bottom and the firm ground of reliable history. This divides itself into five periods, three only of which come under our consideration.* The "Initial period" which, with Blochmann, we may designate as that of "the reigns of the governors of Lak'hnautí, (the newly-chosen residence) appointed by the Dihlí sovereigns" lasted from 1198-9 to 1338.

599-739H.

The second period, that of the independent kings of Bengal (1338 to 1538), begins with Fakhruddín Abul Muzaffar Mubárak Sháh. He had been *siládhár* or armour-bearer to Bahrám Khán, the Dihlí governor of Sunnárgáon, and he had made himself independent after his master's death. He was an intellectual and highly gifted man as his kindness to Çúfis and strangers manifests.† From his time forth, one of the marked features of Bengalí history is the unnatural struggle between sovereigns and ambitious heir-apparents, in which fathers and sons were often at bitter feud and wrestled to the death. This period is therefore fertile in bloody revolutions; so early as with its fourth sovereign, Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Ilyás Sháh in 1352, a new dynasty established itself. This in turn was deposed, after two interregnums, by a Hindú *zamíndár*, of Bhatúriah, Rájah Káns, who usurped the throne of Shamsuddín II. of the Ilyá house, in about the first decade of the 15th century, and

739—924H.

753H.

* The fourth is the Mughul period (1576—1740) and the fifth the Nawábí period (1740 to the cession to the East India Company, 1765).

† Ibn Batutah, l. c. IV. 212 *et seq.*

accounts of whom, belong rather to "legend and tradition than to authenticated history." His son and successor became a convert to Islám; the last of these *parvenus*, Ahmad Sháh was set aside, in 1446, by a scion of the house of Ilyá, who, as anti-king, may probably have come to the front earlier. He was named Násiruddín Abul Mahmúd Sháh and moved his capital to Gaur, a town half-way between the Ganges and the Mahánandá and having on its east the Kallak Sajá, a swamp the receptacle of the sewage of Gaur and from which when the Ganges was in flood, the tainted waters entered the town conduits and thus made of the capital a veritable fever nest.* Between the last of the Ilyás and the first of the Husainís, *i.e.*, between 1487 and 1494 three Habshís ruled †—Abyssinian eunuchs—whom Bárbak Sháh had brought into Bengal and who from being protectors and servants became, as was often the case, masters and sovereigns.‡ They seized the government and, cunning, avaricious and regardless of means, abused their power to slake their impotent passions in a sea of blood. This Habshí interregnum was a reign of terror, illegality and oppression and the people only breathed freely when the last of the monsters had been put away by 'Aláuddín Husain Sháh and thus long the desired peace and order restored.§

850H.

893-899H.

* It lies in 24°55′ N. L. 88° 8′ E. L.

† A son of Fath Sháh, Mahmúd II. reigned for a very short time about 1490.

‡ The second Habshí King (Malik Indil) who ruled under the title of Firuz Shah II. is said by Firishtah to have given immense satisfaction to all classes of his subjects (Briggs IV. 344.) Blochmann says he "proved a good king." (J. A. S. B. 79.) Trs.

§ Purchas (l. c. 3) compares them with those Sulṭáns of Cairo who so frequently rose from the body-guard of Circassian Mamlukes.

The last of the Husainís, Mahmúd Sháh III, was deprived of his throne by the craft and valour of Sher Sháh and Humáyún offered him an asylum. Here begins the third period of the history of Bengal, that of the kings of Sher Sháh's family and their Afghán successors, from 1538 to 1576.

944-984H.

The struggle between Humáyún and Sher Sháh, the then two greatest men in India, is well known; it is necessary only to mention here, that Jahángír Qulí Beg ruled in Gaur as Humáyún's lieutenant until the disastrous day of Chausá, for about a year from 1538 to 1539. When Sher Sháh fell before Kálinjar, in 1545, he was succeeded by his younger son, Islám Sháh who appointed Miyán Sulaimán Kararání* his governor in south Bihár, an appointment rendered of moment by its consequences. With Sher Sháh who was laid to rest at Saserám, was entombed the dazzling power of his house. To Islám Sháh, followed Abul Mubáriz Khán 'Ádil Sháh, better known as 'Ádilí, who however was never recognized in Bengal because Muhammad Khán Súr, its governor usurped its throne in 1552.

945—6 H
952 H.

The unhappy country was now dragged into the wars of the Afghán fraternity, until the time when Miyán Sulaimán Kararání of south Bihár, interfered and did his share with Bahádur, Muhammad Khán Súr's successor, in the overthrow of 'Adilí, in a battle fought at Súrajgarh, west of Mungír in 1556. On the death of Bahádur, he was succeeded by his brother, Jalál

960H.

964H.

* The Kararánís were of an Afghán family, high in Sher Sháh's favour.

Sháh whose son and successor was murdered by one Ghiyásuddín, in 1563. To chastise the murderer, Sulaimán Kararáni despatched his own elder brother, Táj Khán who removed the usurper, settled in Gaur and, as Sulaimán's deputy assumed the government of Bengal. After his death in 1564, Sulaimán adopted the title of Hazrat 'Alí* (*i. e.* Majesty) and transferred the seat of his government from Gaur to Tándah on the opposite side of the river. Practically independent, he was wise enough to strengthen his young sovereignty by living at peace with powerful neighbours† and was therefore not slow to come to an understanding with 'Alí Qulí Khán, at the time when the enterprizing Khán-zamán stood at the zenith of his power. Sulaimán was circumspect to avail himself of every opportunity; it was by no fault of his that on 'Alí Qulí's downfall, the important fortress of Zamániá did not become his own prize: its commander, Asadullah had already offered it to him and their well-concocted plan was frustrated only by Munim Khán's timely interposition which caused the Afghán army to return "disappointed." In Khán Jahán Lodí Afghán, his *vazír*, the wily Sulaimán found a mediator apt to knit up for him friendly relations with the court of Dihlí; Lodí's land lay along the Són and for the security of his possessions, he found it indispensable to be on amicable terms with Mun'im Khán. This state of affairs

971H.

972H.

* Táríkhi Dáúdí of 'Abdullah (Elliot IV. 509). Concerning the title, see Mémoire sur les noms propres et les titres musulmanes, par Garcin de Tassy, 2nd Ed. Paris, 1878, 8° ps. 38,41.

† For Sulaimán's history see Abul Fazl, Elliot VI. 34—37, Chalmers l. c. I. 522ff. Firishtah, Briggs IV. 354, Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V. 245—374 Stewart 147—151.

must have been of so much the more importance to Sulaimán as he was now wishing to keep his hands free and to make his rear secure in order to take the field against Mukund Deo, the last king of Oṛísá. It was at the time when Akbar was besieging Chítor and after mature deliberations that Mun'im Khán and Sulaimán first agreed to meet in ceremonious interview, in order to give the stamp of publicity and generality to relations which had hitherto been personal. The simple Mun'im Khán let himself be persuaded to advance to meet the ruler of Bengal to within about 10 miles of Paṭnah,* (Patna) with a following of some thousand men ; here he was received officially with great splendour and all the observances usual at a reception of a Khán-khánán. It was agreed that the *khuṭbah* should be read and money coined in Akbar's name—a wise resolution which was the offspring of necessity—Sulaimán doing homage to Akbar in order to avoid future complications and to make sure of the lands which his sword had won. The malcontents at the Kararáñí court to whom the politic moderation of ostensible submission was displeasing, formed the design of breaking the sacred laws of hospitality by taking Mun'im Khán prisoner. It is hardly to be doubted that, like most malcontents, they hoped to fish for themselves in the troubled waters which their plan could not fail to stir. Fortunately Lodí and his master heard of the plot betimes and, although unable at once to render the conspirators innocuous, they warned the unsuspecting Khán who returned in haste to Mughul territory.

* Paṭnah, the Padmavatí and Palibothra of ancient India, lies on the right bank of the Ganges, 25° 37′ N. L. and 85° 12′ E. L.

He was overtaken on his way, though with difficulty, by Lodí and Báyazíd, Sulaimán's eldest son, who had hurried after him to protest their entire innocence and to proffer an assurance of their sincere devotion. It was some set-off to the old dignitary for his hasty retreat across the Ganges, to receive a despatch announcing Akbar's capture of Chítor.

Having concluded this defensive alliance with Mun'im Khán, Sulaimán proceeded in 1567 to carry out his projects against Oṛísá. His general, Rájú, surnamed Kálá Pahár, (Black Mountain) soon overpowered the king of Oṛísá who died a hero's death. His kingdom received Lodí as its governor. Kálá Pahár lives still in the mouth of the Uriyas and mothers still scare their children to quiet with his name; it was he who plundered Jagannáth, the temple at Púrí, in south Oṛísá and made it "a home of Islám."* 975H.

The zeal with which Sulaimán laboured to preserve the unruffled favour of the Dihlí court may be estimated by two incidents of this period. Ibráhím Khán Súr,† a cousin of Sher Sháh and brother-in-law of 'Ádilí, had, on the death of the great Afghán, come to the front, for a short time, among the competitors for supreme power at Dihlí; he was defeated by Hemú, put to flight and after many adventures, found a refuge with the Hindú king of Oṛísá. The deceitful Sulaimán, by the promise of free passage and absolute

* Badáoní, Elliot V. 511. It is a temple consecrated to Krishna. *Jagannáth* signifies Lord of the world and in this case designates both the deity and the place where he is worshipped. Thornton's Gazetteer; London 1857, ps. 463-4.

† Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V. 243.

security, lured him into an ambush and there assassinated him. A second person not agreeable to the Emperor was Iskandar Khán, a former vassal of Akbar in Audh; he had been one of the heroes of the Jaunpúr rebellion and had fled with his retinue, unobstructed to Gorák'hpúr, then part of the kingdom of Bengal. He managed to acquire some influence in Ṭandah, at least so much as is implied by his being mentioned as one of the companions of the heir-apparent, Báyazíd when he travelled through Jhárkand (Chuttiá Nágpúr) to Oṛísá. When Sulaimán had acquired this province, he tried to put Iskandar out of the way because to protect him, under existing circumstances, was to offer an insult to the Emperor. Iskandar, a rebel grown grey in the artifices and intrigues of courts, quickly noted the change of tone in his disfavour; he was well aware that in Bengal, as elsewhere, inconvenient guests could be removed—the piteous end of Ibráhím Súr was fresh before his eyes—he therefore, at the right moment, betook himself to his old patron, Mun'im Khán who promised to intercede with Akbar on his behalf.*

As long as the destinies of Bengal were guided by the wise moderation of the discreet Sulaimán and all manifestation of power in opposition to his recognized suzerain was avoided, so long a man as unskilful in statecraft as even Mun'im Khán was able to keep the eastern marches. Favoured by the peaceful political

* Towards the end of the 16th year of Akbar's reign or possibly in the beginning of 1571, the Khán-khánán brought him to Fathpúr Síkrí, and begged forgiveness for him; Iskandar received Lak'hnau as a crown-fief and died there a natural death in the following year, 1572. See Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V. 339, who gives the date of the death, as 30th September 1571; Abul Fazl, Chalmers, l. c. II. 22, however rightly places the event in the following year (see also Blochmann, 366.)

situation Bengal developed and prospered ; its Hindú inhabitants lived undisturbed in their faith, were protected from the oppression of Moslim officials and were allowed some share in the government and this notwithstanding the fact that the exemplary Musalmán, Sulaimán, had prayers daily with 150 *shaikhs* and *'ulámas* before engaging in public business.* At his death, the situation changed completely. "Sulaimán Kararání, " who exhaled the breath of authority in Oṛisá, Bengal "and Bihar, departed to the other world" in the first half of the year 1572.† From this time, there set up in Bengal a current adverse to the Chagátáï court. Báyazíd, Sulaimán's successor, with the foolish arrogance which is bred in weak minds by the sense of unaccustomed power, neglected every precaution ; he ordered the *khuṭbah* to be read in his own name and played the *rôle* of independent sovereign—with more zeal however than discretion, for he should, at any rate, when reversing his father's well-considered policy, have assured to himself the adherence and attachment of his own household and of his nobility ; instead of doing which, he slighted and insulted his father's old servants in the most opprobrious manner so that his downfall became inevitable and followed in a few months. His nobles conspired and at their instigation, he was murdered by his cousin and son-in-law, Hánsú, a vain and insignificant person whom as their creature and to reward his crime, the nobles now

980H.

* Blochmann, J. A. S. B. 1875, p. 303.

† Chalmers l. c. II. 2. Badáoní Elliot V. 511. The statement given in Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V. 372), Firishtah (Briggs IV. 354), Stewart 151, that he died in 1573, is contradicted not only by the authorities cited above, but also by the incontrovertible fact that coins of 1572 have been authenticated, stamped with the name of his second son, Dáúd.

proposed to place on the throne. Jahán Lodí Afghán, however, the "soul of the kingdom" as the *Sawánih i Akbarí** designates him, induced the Afghán leaders to make king Dáúd, Sulaimán's younger son and his own ward; he moreover caused Hánsú to be put to death. In south Bihár, the puissant Gújar Khán had declared for a son of Báyazíd and the terrors of civil war loomed anew before the Afgháns. Not only so but on the first announcement of Sulaimán's death, Akbar had issued a *farmán* calling upon Mun'im Khán to take possession of this "wrangling province."† The Khán-khánán had accordingly commenced negociations with Gújar Khán who in consideration of a corresponding indemnity and of promotion in rank, declared himself willing to acquiesce in the transfer of Bengal to the Mughul empire; but the resolute and indefatigable Lodí at once offered a higher and more attractive price and won the waverer for the Kararánís. Thus, by the tardiness of Mun'im, the prize they were so near grasping, slipped from the hands of the Mughuls.

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* Blochmann, J.A.S.B. 1875, p. 305.

† For the events about to be sketched see Táríkhi Dáúdí of 'Abdullah· Elliot IV, 510 *et seq*; Abul Fazl, Chalmers l.c. II, 22-27, 50-51, 79-85, 90-92, 107-108, 110-111, 113-115, 122-150, 167-187 and Elliot VI, 39-55; Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V. 369-70, 372-390, 394-400; Badáoní, Elliot V. 511-2; Firishtah, Briggs II, 244-249; Stewart l.c. 151-165; Blochmann l. c. 175-76.

In consequence of the error in stating the date of Sulimán's death (page 214 n) the dates of this section are somewhat uncertain and vary in the different authorities; Abul Fazl's statements, as being the surest, have been adhered to. A really diverting medley of truth and falsehood, stands in the narrative of the old de Laët, India Vera, l. c. p. 183. According to him the "Ghan ghanna" (Khán-khánán) and "Monion Khan" are two different persons. (In the copy of de Laët accessible to me the pages are, in all references, at variance with those given by Count v. Nöer though the ed. is nominally the same. In the present instance I find 190 in place of 183. Trs.)

Although gaining this advantage, Lodí thought it advisable to make some acknowledgement to Mun'im Khán and therefore sent him gifts of two *lakhs* of *rupís* and costly stuffs to the value of another *lakh*. After this, he, through his envoy Jalál Khán Krorí, made peace with Dáúd. By his concession to Mun'im, Lodí staved off an immediate collision and gained time to make a descent upon the province of Jaunpúr which was then almost denuded of troops. To Mun'im's excessive surprise, while he was journeying homewards feeling perfectly secure and much consoled for his ill luck by Lodí's present, he heard that Lodí and Dáúd in great force had made an inroad upon his own province, that the fort of Zamániá had surrendered to the former who was in advance, and that it had been razed to the ground. As a preliminary measure, he despatched several *amírs* against the audacious invaders and himself followed by slower marches with the rest of the army. The triumphant Lodí told off five or six thousand men and sent them to the south to burn and to ravage across the Ganges, a proceeding which exasperated the country-people so that they rose as one man, under Gajpatí, their *zamíndár* and the richest landholder in Bihár. Supported by the troops of Mírzâ Husain Khán, Gajpatí put the insolent marauders to flight, driving some across the river in which many were drowned, and killing others outright. Meantime, Mun'im Khán assembled his army near Gházípúr* while Lodí occupied an entrenched camp between the Ganges and the Siáh (Sye) and there maintained a successful resistance. Almost daily there were boat

* On the left bank of the Ganges, in 25°35' N. L. 83° 39 E. L.

skirmishes on the former river which however were rather provocative than serious. At this time the royal guns were spewing destruction on Súrat and under Akbar's leadership, the fall of the famous fort was drawing on. This however, did not prevent the indefatigable Emperor from keeping a watchful eye on his affairs in the east, full information of which was supplied to him by couriers who again conveyed his instructions to Mun'im Khán.

The Khán-khánán, perhaps because he had not courage to act independently, sought to bring about a friendly accommodation; in estimating his motives however, it will also be right to bear in mind that valorous Patháns are dangerous enemies and that young Dáúd had ample treasure and fighting power at his command.* Mun'im's first overtures were offensively rejected by Lodí but an unforseen incident abruptly altered the situation. Dáúd had come from the interior of Bengal as far as Mungír,† and had there murdered Táj Khán's son Yúsuf, his own cousin and Lodí's son-in-law,‡ thinking thus to remove a formidable rival whom connection with the puissant Lodí rendered suspect. This crime snapped the feeble bond which held Lodí to Dáúd personally—to the Kararání house and to his country he was always faithful—and he again took up his old relations with Mun'im. The two soon

* Even if Stewart's estimate (l. c. p. 152) be too high which places the force at over 140,000 infantry, 40,000 cavalry, 20,000 guns, 3,600 war elephants, besides several hundred war-boats, yet the whole campaign proves that the effective strength of the Afgháns was very considerable.

† It is therefore by oversight that he is described in Elliot VI, 41 as Dáúd's nephew. He is correctly named "the son of Táj, his (Dáúd's) uncle in Chalmers II, 27.

came to terms and Lodí testified his submission by costly gifts to the Emperor. The proud Afghán thus humbled himself to a Chagátáï only because he desired to fulfil the sacred duty of vengeance; in the first surge of passion he armed himself to call the royal murderer to account but the chiefs who were serving with him deserted him, mutiny broke out among his troops and he was compelled to retire with a handful of devoted followers to Rhoṭás, a fort in south Bihár, on the N. W. bank of the Són. Harassed sorely here by Dáúd's troopers, he was led to ask help of the Khán-khánán who willingly sent a reinforcement by the aid of which he may well have expected that some favourable opportunity would place the important fortress in his own hands. Dáúd had established himself in Garhí and there with spendthrift hand was scattering his father's treasure in enlisting mercenaries, to revive a power which waned with the loss of his truest and ablest counsellor. Mun'im Khán did not feel himself equal to coping with these ever-growing complications and his sovereign—whose presence he so ardently desired,—was still persistently fighting in Gujrát.

As has been mentioned, Akbar had spent the interim between the first and second campaigns of Gujrát—from 3rd June to 23rd Aug. 1573 at Síkrí. There he had been besieged by repeated petitions for aid from the perturbed Khán-khánán and, in compliance with these, had despatched Chalmah Beg, the Khán 'Álam, and Ashraf Khán with other commanders to render active assistance. At the same time he issued a *farmán* to Mun'im Khán in which, while making

2nd Çafar 981H.

24th Rabí'u-s sání 981H.

prominent mention to his zeal and fidelity, the most definite orders were conveyed to him to set forth at once to chastise the rebels and to conquer the eastern provinces. Mun'im Khán put in hand extensive equipment for the new expedition but Akbar had had only too frequent experience of Mun'im's want of decision and therefore commissioned his own sharp-sighted man of business, Todar Mall, to report upon the state of the preparations and upon the strength and temper of the troops in the eastern theatre of war. The Emperor's confidant made a searching examination and was able to report reassuringly.

The plans for action in Bengal were suddenly thwarted by the renewed outbreak of disturbances in Gujrát and their progress brought to a stand by the famous ride to Ahmadábád. The Emperor by no means underestimated the range of the troubles in the east and with his unfailing prescience ordered Todar Mall, his best superintendent, to build upon the stocks at A'grah and to equip, a flotilla of some thousand transports, destining them to convey him for a decisive struggle down the sacred river to the delightful plains of Bengal. When Gujrát had been subdued and Akbar had returned to his capital, the plan of conquering Bengal was revived; Lashkar Khán and other *jágírdárs* were sent out to call up the wardens of the marches and to conduct them, together with their own levies, to the chief-in-command, Mun'im Khán. Evidence of the importance which Akbar attached to the Bengal expedition is afforded by the fact of his giving Todar Mall a second commission and, as his plenipotentiary, entrusting him with with the conduct and surveillance of operations. Todar Mall laboured zealously to secure a definitive result to

this campaign. There can be no doubt that this hard-headed rájah who ignored everything but the execution of his master's orders, was almost hateful to the Mughul commanders who were men grown grey in the profession of arms, both because he was a Hindú and also because, as a soldier he did not belong to their guild. To all his arrangements, they opposed an obstruction which was all the more formidable that it was unobtrusive. On his arrival, Todar Mall had found Mun'im assiduously engaged in preparing for a speedy decampment and soon three columns marched eastward. Permission was given to several officers to cross the Ganges; on the opposite bank they fell in with a division of Afgháns which although occupying a strong position, took to flight. Many of the Mughuls were cut to pieces during the pursuit which ensued. The campaign in general may be described as a series of surprises; one such occurred now, when a horseman brought in the astounding news that Lodí Afghán who was believed to be at deadly and irreconcileable feud with Dáúd, had come to terms with him, had got rid by friendly means of the imperial auxiliaries at Rhotás and, acting for Dáúd, had subsequently compelled them to swift retreat. Lodí's renewal of adherence to Dáúd and his assumption of the direction of the movement for the independence of Bengal greatly augmented the gravity of the situation. The Mughuls well knew with what manner of opponent they had to deal: hardly had he taken up his old appointment than he stood ready to strike and the imperialists saw on the other side of the Són, the spacious, well-ordered and well-fortified camp of the Afgháns of Bengal. In the interim when both sides were arming for a pitched

battle, the Són, as before the Ganges, was the scene of water skirmishes.

After Lodí's return, his enviers and enemies and, in particular, Qutlú Khán ensnared the fickle Dáúd in a mesh of intrigue. Dáúd's whole life was a game of frivolity and sensual pleasure ; his jealousy, his consciousness of sin, his fear that a man whom he had so deeply injured as Lodí and who possessed such ample power, might cast him down and usurp his place—all these motives led him to give ready ear to malicious innuendos. He followed the march of Lodí's army as far as the house of Jalál Khán of Chatwara and there summoned Lodí and his *vakíl* to a council. They suspecting nothing, attended almost without escort; suddenly, on a signal from Dáúd, Qutlú Khán and his accomplices burst into the room, took them at unawares and after a brief struggle in which Lodí's sword-bearer was hewn in pieces, overpowered and bound them. Lodí who knew his former ward well, saw now that there was no escape for him. Long before this time, the idea must have dawned upon him that the power of the eastern Afgháns was on the wane ; at this crisis of his fate his sagacity must have read that idea as a certainty. When some Muhammadan historians aver that he had aimed at supreme power, an explanation of this statement, if it be in any degree warrantable, may be found in the impulse which prompted him to retard yet a little the inevitable downfall of his countrymen. Waiving the argument that no authority we have consulted, gives authentic proof of the allegation against him and also that all praise his pre-eminent powers of mind and his virtues, it speaks to the contrary that he should have made peace with Dáúd

whom he bitterly hated and should have allied himself with him loyally and enthusiastically for the service of the Patháns and their ruling house. Dáúd had murdered Lodí's son-in-law; Lodí sacrificed the duty of vengeance to the loftier claims of fidelity to his race or he postponed it till such time as he should not be hampered by a conflict of duty—for retaliation, by one's own hand, the Biblical "eye for eye, tooth for tooth" is interwoven with every fibre of an Oriental's being. Now death at the hands of Dáúd's executioners stared him in the face; his last words were no curse but a sage warning to his murderer. When he had begged that Dáúd would not dishonour his wives, he said to him, "After I am killed, fight "the Mughuls without hesitation. If you do not do so, "they will attack you and you will not be able to help "yourself."*

The death of Lodí avenged itself by its immediate consequences for, as Abul Fazl says, "the commotion "and dissension which it created in the Afghán camp "were so great that if the imperialists had dealt an in- "stantaneous blow, the war could have been ended with "ease." With careful prevision however, the royal army marched towards Patnah, within the walls of which was Dáúd who, seized by swift repentance for his insane crime, ventured not to offer battle but "like a poltroon"

* These words occur both in Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V, 373) and Badáoní, idem, 512. I have however omitted a warning as to "hollow peace" from the text, because it is manifestly at variance with the facts as given in Abul Fazl's accurate and detailed narrative, since fighting had again commenced. Both chroniclers had no doubt in their eye the sham peace mentioned at page 216; and both therefore place Lodí's murder at a too early date. This "dying speech" is not otherwise doubtful, it is an injunction to take the offensive with energy.

remained withdrawn in the shelter of his fortifications. These events ripened into resolve Akbar's impression that his presence was desirable in Bengal and, as usual, he prefaced his military undertaking by a pilgrimage to Ajmír upon which he set forth on 8th February 1574.

16th Shawwal 981H. Returning to Fathpúr Síkrí at the beginning of the rainy season, he learnt from a detailed report of Mu'nim Khán that there was still no prospect of taking Patnah because, being continually revictualled and reinforced from the river, the place was able to bid successful defiance to all besieging tactics and to the most devoted bravery on the part of the Mughul troops. The same despatch urged the Emperor to come quickly to Bengal and he accordingly on 18th June 1574, shipped "himself

27th Çafar 982H. "with his sons and a proportion of the "chaste and curtained fair and of his "chosen companions at the banquet and in arms while "the rest of his suite and army set out by land,"* preceding him by a few days, under Mírzá Yúsuf Khán Razawí. Repeated messages were sent to announce to Mun'im Khán that the Emperor was advancing. At Korí,† at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gúmti, Akbar came up with his land-troops. Troubled during his whole voyage by violent storms and warned by the loss of a considerable number of boats, he resolved to assure his wives and children against further risk by taking them to Jaunpúr. On his way thither a despatch received from Mun'im Khán necessitated his immediate return; he set his family on their way under safe escort, dropped rapidly down the Gúmti and re-entered

* Chalmers II, 92. Trs.

† In 25°29' N. L., and 83°15' E. L.

the Ganges. His land force was at this time encamped on the bank of the later river and now received orders to march, for the future, within sight of the flotilla.

8th Rabí'ú-s sání. At the memorable ferry of Chausá, on 28th July, Akbar was informed that 'Isá Khán, one of the most formidable of the Afghán leaders, had been defeated and slain in a sortie which he had led from Paṭnah; in the same letter Mun'im Khán bewailed the ill effects of the rains and asked for fresh horses and new arms to replace those which the weather had rendered unserviceable, requirements which were at once satisfied. On 5th August, after having been met with due ceremony a few miles outside

16th Rabí'ú-s sání. Paṭnah by the Khán-khánán and his fellow commanders, Akbar reached the goal of his journey and took up his quarters in the tents of Mun'im Khán.

On the following morning he inspected the enemy's outworks, moving about under fire with his wonted equanimity. In the course of the same day, a courier brought to the camp Dáúd's reply to a letter which had been sent to him previous to Akbar's arrival and in which he had been entreated to submit himself for his own sake and that of his people. In his answer, Dáúd represented himself as the victim of Lodí's misleading which, he said, Lodí had expiated by death and he further hypocritically declared himself ready to do homage to Akbar. To this Akbar rejoined that "revenge was a quality not consonant with his disposi-"tion and that the only proof he required of Dáúd's "sincerity was that he should attend and bend his "forehead to the ground before his throne." Akbar went on to say that if this proposal should not be

agreeable to Dáúd, the latter could save the Paṭnah garrison from the sword only by accepting one of three conditions, of which the first challenged the young Afghán king to single combat with Akbar who named, as the place of meeting, the space between their two positions and left the choice of weapons to his adversary ; the second provided for the possibility of Dáúd's courage not being equal to the first test, by placing the issue in the hands of two proxy champions, selected one from each army ; the third offered, in the event of no Afghán warrior being found ready for this venture, to leave the decision to two war-elephants.

A little before this, Chalmah Beg, the Khan 'Álam had been sent with 3,000 men against Hájípúr * which lies immediately opposite Paṭnah at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gandak. Unobserved from Paṭnah, his troop set forth in the darkness of the night, under the guidance of experienced pilots but was perceived from Hájípúr when entering the Gandak, and its boats raked by cannon and musketry. When Akbar heard the heavy firing, he sent help with all speed. In Paṭnah also, it was not unremarked ; there too boats were manned to bar the way of the Emperor's reinforcement but these were beaten back after a brief skirmish, during which Chalmah Beg had boldly attacked and captured Hájípúr.

The loss of this position filled up the measure of Dáúd's terror ; he had quaked at Akbar's knightly challenge and now, to quote Abul Fazl,† "The lamp "of his counsel was without light and the candle of "his understanding unilluminated—he madly stole from

* In 25° 40′ N. L. and 85° 14′ E., L.

† Chalmers II, 101. Trs.

"the wicket of the fort by night and embarked in "a swift vessel for Bengal."* "Gújar Khán made a "simultaneous escape with the elephants and the army "by land. Thus was the pride of the host broken "and so great was their panic that the roads and the "ditches were strewed with the dying. In their hurry "to escape, some plunged into the waves, some crowded "into boats till they sunk with the numbers; many "were trodden down and mingled with the dust and "heads which had been cradled with the visions of "arrogance, were trampled upon by the mean foot of the "hireling." The turmoil of the nocturnal flight did not escape the besiegers; Akbar instantly mounted an elephant to pursue but let himself be persuaded by the cautious Khán-khánán to await the day-break. At sunrise, he entered the city by the Dihlí gate, remained a few hours to arrange such affairs as most pressed, then making over charge of his camp to Mun'im Khán with instructions to follow more slowly, he mounted and began a pursuit or rather mad race across country—through swamps and fields—through swollen rivers—swimming the rapid Pan-pan which whirls its waters from the southern borders of Bihár towards Patnah—and first drew rein at Daryápúr, 60 miles east of that city. A few scouring parties carried the pursuit still further but without gaining any marked advantage. In Patnah itself enormous treasure had already been found and some of the *amírs* who pursued Gújar Khán collected a still more valuable booty; of elephants alone 265 were taken at the time when Akbar and his troopers

* De Laët in good Latin and with still more excellent indignation, states that Xa-Douwet (Sháh Dáúd) was senseless with drink and was brought down the river by his servants in a boat. Page 184 (or 191 Trs.)

were dogging the footsteps of the flying enemy. Individual soldiers gleaned riches, either on the high road where they picked up gold chains, armlets and diamond-studded swords and daggers, or from the brooks and rivers they crossed in the pursuit and from which they fished turbans and waist-cloths stuffed with gold pieces.

When Mun'im Khán had rejoined Akbar, a council of war was held in which, after prolonged discussion, it was determined to prosecute the war notwithstanding the rains. Command was given to the Khán-khánán over 20,000 picked troops and he was also named governor of Bengal and a *jágír* in Bihár was allotted to him while his former fief of Jaunpúr was annexed to the crown demesnes. With him were associated Todar Mall,* Majnún Khán Qáqshál, Chalmah Beg and Ashraf Khán. Now that the army had been cheered to renewed effort by the Emperor's presence, that the first decisive blow had been dealt and that Paṭnah had fallen, Akbar could fittingly leave the conduct of the campaign, in accordance with his own plans and instructions, to the aged Mun'im Khán and the joint-commanders. Other schemes of the widest range had gradually matured in Akbar's mind; resolves were near their accomplishment which should mould the great empire of Hindústán into a single entity; the strong desire which filled his soul to be a father to his people, rose now before him in lustrous purity. He left the army and betook himself for a time to Jaunpúr, despatching on his way thither, from Ghíyáspúr, a force against Rhoṭás.†

* One of the highest distinctions was conferred on this Hindú, the *'alam* and *naqqára*, an imperial banner and kettle-drum.

† One of the leaders was Muzaffar Khán i Turbatí, at one time *diwán* of the kingdom and who, as a punishment for various transgressions,

Meantime the royal officers chased the Afgháns indefatigably and one town after another, often without a blow struck, fell into their hands; of special service was the help afforded by Hindú landholders such as Sangrám Singh Saha of K'harakpúr and Púran Mall of Gídhor. The important fort of Garhí was captured by an attack delivered from two sides, although the circumjacent country was under water. This last loss gave the signal for a general disbandment of the Afgháns and when the imperial banner waved also on the highway to Ṭándah, Dáúd who had fled thither from Garhí, hurried off to Sátgáon* and Oṛísá to call to arms his countrymen of those districts. From Ṭándah Mun'im Khán sent out various bodies of soldiers to purge the surrounding country from such Afgháns as might be meditating further resistance. Mu. Qulí Khán Barlás was commissioned to hinder Dáúd's equipment in Sátgáon; Majnún Khán Qáqshál and others hastened to G'horág'hát where Kála Pahár and Sulaimán and Bábú Manklí had established themselves. A new and formidable enemy arose in the person of the brave Junaid-i-Kararání, Dáúd's cousin "who had deserted "from the imperial presence and having failed in his "attack on Gujrát, had arrived at Jhárkhand" (Chuttía Nágpúr) "and was ripe for sedition." He was prevented from effecting a junction with Dáúd by Todar Mall and compelled to fortify himself in the hill passes. The news of these various successes reached the Emperor as

was now dismissed without being allowed to pay his respects. As he distinguished himself and reduced Bihár, he was appointed, in the 20th year of the reign, in 1575, governor of Bihár, from Chausá to Garhí. Blochmann l. c. 349.

* The permanent nickname of this district was Bulghák-khánah *i. e.*, the house of rebellion. Blochmann l. c. p. 381.

he was returning from Dihlí and Ajmír whither he had journeyed to satisfy his strong desire to visit the shrines; he arrived at Fathpúr Síkrí 13th Jan. 1575.

30th Ramazán 982H.

When Dáúd had slipped over the border into Oṛísá, the Qáqsháls settled themselves in G'horág'hát and the troops of Mu. Khán Barlás in Sátgáon. Having obtained a success over Dáúd, they thought it allowable to give themselves up to repose and good cheer; martial undertakings lay dormant and a life of peace, perilous to garrisons in an enemy's country, unnerved them and relaxed their discipline, so that ere long the pleasures of luxurious Bengal seemed far more attractive than the battle-cry and the rough uses of the camp. On a day in the twenties of December,* 1574, died at Medinípúr,† Mu. Qulí the head of the Barlás clan, apparently "for no better cause" says Abul Fazl "than eating a betel leaf after a long fast "but as some suspect poisoned by a eunuch." Their leader being dead, the turbulent Chagátáïs became ungovernable and Todar Mall could appease them only by inducing the Khán-khánán to send a representative who soothed their excitement by gifts and promises.

End of Ramazán 982H.

Dáúd's flight had carried him almost to the confines of Bengal but when news of these occurrences among the Mughuls reached him, he returned quickly and under special encouragement from his governor in Oṛísá. Some royal *amírs* advanced against him but Todar Mall who did not trust them, urged Mun'im Khán to act independently. Simultaneously with his importunity,

* Abul Fazl says "middle of the month of Dé which would give January, 1575." Trs.

† In 22° 24′ N. L. and 87° 33′ E. L. on the Kánsaí.

Mun'im who had remained in Ṭanḍah, received a *farmán*—from Akbar but certainly instigated by the Rájah—which was somewhat reproachfully worded and warned the Khán-khánán not to build too much on past successes until Dáúd should have been annihilated. In obedience to this *farmán*, Mu'nïm took his best troops and marched to Chittuá in Oṛísá where he joined the other imperial commanders.

Between Medinípúr and Jaleswar* lies the insignificant hamlet of Mughulmárí, *i. e.*, Mughul's Fight, and, about seven miles southwards, half-way between Mughulmárí and Jaleswar, the little village of Tukaroí. It was in the fields extending between the last-named places, on 3rd March 1575 that the hostile armies came across each other. The number of combatants witnessed to the significance of the day. The attack was opened by the Khán 'Alam, Chalmah Beg; disregarding the presentiments of death which had beset him before the fight, he charged the ranks of Gújar Khán, Dáúd's best general, with foolhardy impetuosity but the horses of his troop took fright because "the black manes of their (the Afgháns) horses were matted and their heads disfigured with the skin and teeth of wild animals:" his ranks were utterly broken and he found himself alone in a sea of foes. His horse "got a sword-cut and reared, throwing him to the "ground. He sprang up and mounted it again but was "immediately thrown over by an elephant and killed by "the Afgháns who rushed from all sides upon him."† Thus died Chalmah Beg, an honourable and knightly

20th Zí-l ka'da 982H.

* In 21° 47′ N. L. and 87° 13′ E. L., on the Súbanrekha.

† Chalmers II, 129. Trs.

death for his sovereign.* With the speed of the wind, the Afgháns broke through the *altamsh*—the troop immediately behind the van and between it and the centre—which had been disordered by the runaways of Chalmah Beg's van and reached the centre where Mun'im Khán commanded. Gújar Khán galloped up to him and he, without a sword, slashed furiously at his foe with his whip. Faithful followers dragged back the old man's horse by the bridle and, incapable of resistance, bleeding from wounds on head, neck and back, he was carried more than three miles with the crowd of fugitives. The day would have been lost to Akbar if the enemy had not at once scattered to loot the Mughul camp. At the two wings the fight persisted and when Todar Mall who commanded on the left, heard that the van and the centre had given way, he rose in his stirrups andshouted " What harm if Khán 'Alam is dead ; what fear, if " the Khán-khánán has run away ; the empire is ours !" Then he charged victoriously. By this time some bodies of imperialists had collected again and were led against the disorderly crowd of looters ; an arrow struck and killed Gújar Khán ; the banner of the returning Khán-khánán became visible in the distance and Dáúd who all along had believed his disappearance a stratagem, turned to flee. Thus was fought what is known as the battle of Tukaroí which in fact sealed the fate of Bengal ; it was a victory which, spite of the

* Chalmah Beg deserves commemoration for an act of humanity. He had been Humáyún's table attendant (*safarchí*) and when Kámrán was blinded and about to set out for Makkah, he volunteered to accompany him. None of Kámrán's old friends came forward to go with him into exile, but Chalmah Beg, in reply to a question from Humáyún " will you go with him or stay with me?" replied, that he thought he ought to accompany the Prince " in the gloomy days of need and the darkness of his solitude." (Blochmann l. c. 378.) Trs.

skilful colouring of courtly chroniclers may be read, between their lines, as due rather to a caprice of fortune than to the generalship of the Khán-khánán.

While Mun'im Khán was kept back by his wounds, Todar Mall and other *amírs* pursued Dáúd who was preparing for further resistance at Kaṭak,* the heart of Oṛísá and situated on a peninsula at a fork of the Mahánadí. So little had the recent victory exalted the the spirit of tne Mughul army that it showed itself refractory under Todar Mall's energetic efforts to push on and he saw himself forced to solicit the influence of Mun'im Khán. Notwithstanding the pain of his wounds, the latter hurried up and by presents and concessions contrived to coax his soldiers to within some two miles of Kaṭak. Pushed to extremity, Dáúd showed signs of submission and and on 12th April the treaty of Kaṭak was concluded.

1st Muharram 983H.

Nizámuddín Ahmad, in recounting the ceremonies of this day, gives such a clear picture of court custom that we insert the passage. "Next day Khán-khánán "ordered a grand court to be held, and all the nobles and "attendants to be present in their places in fine array, "and the troops drawn up in arms, in front of his tents. "Dáúd came out of the fort, attended by his Afghán "nobles and officers, and proceeded to the tent of Khán- "khánán. When he approached it, Khán-khánán, "with great courtesy and respect, rose up and walked "half way down the tent to meet him. When they "met, Dáúd loosened his sword from the belt, and "holding it before him, said, 'I am tired of war since "it inflicts wounds on worthy men like you.' Khán-

* In 20° 29′ N. L. and 85° 54′ E. L.

"khánán took the sword and handed it to one of his "attendants. Then gently taking Dáúd by the hand, "he seated him by his side and made the most kind "and fatherly inquiries. Food and drink and sweet-"meats were served of which the Khán pressed him to "partake."

"After the dishes were removed, the terms of peace "came under discussion. Dáúd protested that he "would never take any course hostile to the imperial "throne and he confirmed his promise by the most "stringent oaths. The treaty of peace was drawn up "and the Khán-khánán brought a sword with a "jewelled belt of great value out of his stores, and "presenting it to Dáúd, said 'You have now become "a subject of the imperial throne and have promised "to give it your support. I have therefore requested "that the country of Oṛísá may be settled upon you "for your support and I feel assured that his Majesty "will confirm my proposition granting this to you, as "my *tankhwah** has been granted to me. I now gird "you afresh with this warlike sword.' Then he bound "on the sword with his own hands; and showing him "every courtesy and making him a great variety of "gifts, he dismissed him. The court then broke up, "and Khán-khánán started on his return."

The terms of the treaty were "that Dáúd was to do "homage of service, to surrender his best elephants, and "pay up his tribute. Eventually he was to go to court "and do homage in person, but for the present some "relations were to be sent as hostages. His nephew, "Shaikh Muhammad, (Báyazíd's son) was the hostage." One person only recognized the truth that Dáúd was

* An assignment upon the revenues of a district. Wilson l. c. p. 509.

playing an impudent trick and that this false peace was made only to be broken—Todar Mall of whom Abul Fazl narrates that when his representations, threats, and entreaties,—perhaps because they were his,—met with no acceptance, the hot-tempered man wrung his hands, stamped upon the ground, refused all participation in the treaty and incensed with anger, returned to court.

A few Afgháns still maintained an attitude of rebellion, these having been chastised and the treaty with Dáúd having been ratified, Mu'nim Khán returned to Bengal. Arrived at Ṭánḍah, he removed the seat of his government from that town to Gaur, on the opposite bank of the Ganges, being influenced thereto by a double reason—Gaur lay nearer to the disturbed district of G'horág'hát and it contained many handsome and convenient buildings. Soldiers and *ráíyats* therefore, all had to cross over the river, although at the time the deadly fever caused by the exhalations of the Kalak Sajá, was producing the most frightful devastation in Gaur. The troops had already suffered much from the hardships of a march from Oṛísá in the rains, now, each day, malaria claimed its tale of victims and spared the chief as little as the camp-follower. At first Mun'im had been deaf to expostulation and people had dared to represent the matter to him only in the most delicate manner now when it was too late, when thousands were dead and the pestilence had reached such a pitch that the corpses of Moslims and Hindús alike had to be thrown into the river, now, at length, he consented to return to Ṭánḍah.

11th Rajab 983H.

His days, however, were numbered; he died, the victim of his own obstinacy, after a short illness, on 16th Oct. 1575.*

* Abul Fazl, III. 160 says he died on 15th Aban 983. Trs.

The worthy Mun'im Khán was one of the last survivors of the old school of Humáyún; reared in the traditions of the Chagátáï court, wavering as a reed in the breeze, shrinking from every responsibility which bore the semblance of danger, he was incapable of independently conducting any important enterprise and was ever a mediator and the friend of peaceful accommodation. Wishing to content all, he satisfied none; he therefore shared the fate of all tender souls who on the very eve of an inevitable battle seek for kindly evasion—he passed for a weakling. Often his good-nature degenerated into inexcusable indulgence and even when he desired revenge, he left it to another's hand to strike the blow while he consulted his comfort by absence. None the less did he fill the highest offices of state, none the less was he promoted to the loftiest dignities at court, was Khán-khánán, governor through many years in Jaunpúr and chief-in-command during the Bengal campaign. In reconciling these incongruities, it must be remembered that the Emperor whose filial disposition led him to pray at his father's grave before going to battle, saw in Mu'nim Khán a heritage leagued by that father and a constant memorial of his childhood. The Khán-khánán possessed persistent traits of character which riveted the respect of his sovereign: genuine self-effacement before the counsellors whom his Emperor associated with him and who, spite of his titular rank, had often to think and to act for him; steadfast fidelity to the house of Timur; freedom from the perilous ambition which had wrecked many another vassal with far less means at command; aptitude to represent becomingly, at least in the externals of the Khán-khánán's dignity, the pomp and the majesty of the

throne of Dihlí. Too much a soldier to be thorough courtier, too much a courtier to be thorough soldier, he was cursed by the contradictions of his character. He was naturally fitted for a life of tranquil and pleasant ease but a mysterious fate bound him to the career of the bold conqueror and aspiring reformer of Hindústán; it is therefore, not surprising that the sluggish and undiscerning worthy could not keep the pace. Happy was it for him that he saw barely the dawn of a new era in which he must have foundered like a true child of the good old times.

The death of the Khán-khánán was the signal for all unruly spirits in his army to raise their heads; to succeed him, a council-of-war provisionally elected Sháham Khán Jaláir, an appointment which provoked from Badáoní the remark, "In the treeless land, the "castor-oil plant is a tree." Subsequently Akbar raised the then governor of the Panjáb, the Khán Jahán, Husain Qulí, to the rank of *Amír-ul-umará* and sent him to Bengal with orders to restore peace and to put down the disorders which were menacing that much-contested province.* With the news of the Khán-khánán's death, there had been a universal uprising of the Afgháns. The Qáqsháls and other clans, enfeebled by the luxury of the truce, were expelled from their new domiciles with shameful facility; the perfidious Dáúd

* After the death of Khurram Begum, Mírzá Sulaimán of Badakhshán was compelled to quit his kingdom by civil war with his grandson Sháhrukh Mírzá; before this incident he had asked help from Akbar who had given orders to the Khán Jahán to reinstate him in his kingdom; the old king was in the first instance to have gone as Akbar's general to Bengal, but he was reluctant to do this and Husain Qulí Khán was nominated in his stead while he betook himself to Ismail II of Persia. (Blochmann l. c. p. 312.)

seized one strong place after another; he forced Nazar Bahádur, the Mughul governor of Bhadrak, (Oṛísá) to surrender and treacherously murdered him while the garrisons of other forts saved themselves only with extreme difficulty. The usual attitude of the Chagátáí leaders amongst themselves was one of bickering and altercation but they were now for once united by the bond of common animosity to the new governor. The race hatred which had subsisted from of old between Mughuls and Iranians blazed out, for Husain Qulí was a Qizilbáshí—a Red-cap, as a Persian was derisively called. Hence it came about that all his enterprises against the rebels halted by reason of the wilful neglect of his subordinates. Dáúd retook Garhí, retook Ṭándah but when Husain Qulí's levies drew near, he moved to a fortified position near Ráj Mahall,* on the right bank of the Ganges. So soon as Husain Qulí recognised that his success was impossible in face of the inimical temper of the Mughul *amírs*, he addressed himself to the Emperor and Akbar ordered Muzaffar Khán, the governor of Paṭnah and Bihár to proceed to Bengal and this the more speedily that he heard of the death of his friend Khwajah 'Abdullah Naqshbandí who had been purposely left unsupported in a skirmish. Following these ill-tidings from Bengal, came others; Bihár itself which had been almost denuded of troops, had been thrown into lamentable confusion by the revolt of Gajpatí, a Hindú whose fidelity had hitherto been accounted steadfast. This last news decided Akbar to go east again and he accordingly set out, on 22nd July 1576. He had travelled only a few miles from his capital when

25th Rabí'u-s sání 984H.

* In 25° 2′ N. L. and 87° 52′ E. L.

he was met by a courier from the Khán Jahán who laid at his feet the head of Dáúd, on receiving which token of success he heaped largesse upon the messenger and retraced his steps to Fathpúr Síkrí.*

Dáúd's death had occurred in the following manner. An engagement had taken place near Ráj Mahall on 12th July in which the imperialists had been victorious. Kálá Pahár was severely wounded and fled; Junáid, the "sword of the Afgháns" had been wounded grievously during the night preceding the battle by a cannon-ball which had entered his tent and shattered his thigh. The issue of the contest did not long remain doubtful, Dáúd fled, closely pursued by Todar Mall who breathing scorn and contempt, captured him in the morass in which his horse had foundered. When led before the Khán Jahán and asked, "Where is the treaty you made and the "oath that you swore ?," throwing aside all shame, he "said, "I made that treaty with Khán-khánán, if you "will alight, we will have a little friendly talk together "and enter upon another treaty." Khán Jahán, fully aware of the craft and perfidy of the traitor, ordered that his body "should be immediately relieved from the weight of his rebellious head." His body was exposed on a gibbet at Ṭánḍah. With Dáúd ended the long line of independent kings of Afghán race who, having domiciled themselves in the east, had ruled Bengal for almost 400 years. Henceforth the province was to be a member of the giant body of the Mughul empire and administered by Chagátáï governors. The long persistence in it of Pathán domination was principally due

15th Rabí'u-s sání 984H.

* Gajpatí was brought to subjection by Shabáz Khán who also obtained possession of the hitherto virgin fortress of Rohṭas. Blochmann l. c. p. 400.

to its peculiar form of government, the features of which are admirably set forth in the subjoined extract from Stewart.

"The government of the Afgháns in Bengal cannot "be said to have been monarchical but nearly resembled "the feudal system introduced by the Goths and Vandals "into Europe. Bakhtyár Khiljí and the succeeding "conquerors made choice of a certain district as their "own domain: the other districts were assigned to the "inferior chiefs who subdivided the lands amongst their "petty commanders, each of whom maintained a certain "number of soldiers, composed principally of their "relations or dependents; these persons however did not "cultivate the soil themselves, but each officer was the "landlord of a small estate, having under him a certain "number of Hindú tenants to whom, from the principle "of self-interest, he conducted himself with justice and "moderation: and had it not been for the frequent "change of masters, and constant scenes of rebellion and "invasion, in which private property was little regarded, "the cultivators of the soil would have been placed in a "state of comparative happiness and agriculture would "have flourished, as it subsequently did in another part "of India, under the government of their country-men, "the Rohillás. The condition of the upper classes of "Hindús must, doubtless, have been much deteriorated; "but it is probable that many of the Afghán officers, "averse to business or frequently called away from their "homes to attend their chiefs, farmed out their estates "to the opulent Hindús who were also permitted to "retain the advantages of manufactures and commerce. "The authority of the Afghán kings of Bengal depended "much upon their personal ability and conduct. We

"have seen them, on some occasions, acting as despotic "sovereigns; at other times possessing little or no "influence beyond the town or city in which they resid- "ed, often insulted and even murdered by their menial "servants."

Thus was verified the old mnemonic line which is current with all the historians of these events. From Dáúd's hand passed Sulaimán's land.

CHAPTER IV.

GOGANDAH.*

NEW provinces had been won, the imperial policy ranged round a widened horizon and new embarrassments were the inevitable consequence. As fire lives under the ashes and bursts into flame when the wind passes over it, so love of race and country kept aglow in the subjugated lands of Rájasthán and needed but a breath to kindle them into action. Compelled by circumstances alone, a few Rájpút chiefs and these not the feeblest, had declared their allegiance to the empire and now, arms in hand, abode the hour in which they might shake off the detested yoke of the Mughul. Scattered through the Muhammadan chronicles appear traces of simultaneous action among the Rájpút tribes from which it may be conjectured that the isolated revolts we are about to describe, were the outcome of a concerted plan. In March 1574, Akbar being at the time in Ajmír, Chandar Sen, son of Máldeo of Jodhpúr, took up arms and made the fort of Siwánah the fulcrum of successful resistance. Rái Rái Singh and Sháh Qulí Mahram were commissioned to bring back the renegade to duty, by peaceful means if possible, by the strong hand if these should fail. Resort to active measures was neces-

Zí'lka'da 981H.

* For this chapter see Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V. 398-9, 400-1, 410; Abul Fazl, Elliot VI, 42-3, 53-4, 58-9, and Chalmers, l. c. 173 *et seq.*, 200 *et seq.* and 241 *et seq.*; Firishtah, Briggs II, 250; Tod, l. c. I, 330 *et seq.* Ritter, l. c., VI, 873 *et seq.*

sitated by the Rájah's delay to agree to the Emperor's terms. Siwánah held out and heavy losses enfeebled the besieging force whose numbers it had been necessary to augment by later reinforcements. Chandar Sen had entrusted the defence of Siwánah to the Ráthor Bathá while he himself moved rapidly through the country, stirring the fire of revolt. His nephew Kallá also, the son of Rái Rám, took up arms and, although compelled by superior numbers to keep quiet for a time, broke out again at once on the withdrawal of the Mughuls. Not till 1576 was a term fixed to the struggle when the circumspect Sháhbáz Khán brought about the capitulation of Siwánah and the other forts in which the rebels had established themselves. Shortly after this outbreak in Jodhpúr, Daudá whose father, Surjan Hádá, had recently been transferred from the government of Garha-Katangah to that of Chunár, forgot his oath of fidelity and incited a revolt in Búndí. It is at this point that the fine threads which knit together the Rájpút insurrections, become visible and the inference of a common centre follows immediately upon the consideration that Daudá's family stood in special relation to the house of Mewár, inasmuch as the aged Surjan had been its vassal before Akbar's first campaign in the Rájpút territories. At this time Partáb ruled over the still considerable remnant of independent Mewár—Mewár which till lately had been supreme in Rájasthán. True it is that he was the son of coward U'dai Singh but he was no less the grandson of the heroic Sánká and atavism is a doctrine not without foundation. Race feeling taught him to hate the foreigners, ancestral pride to despise them, and high martial spirit, his grandsire's legacy, to resist

984H.

them. With the loss of Chítor, the power of his house had undoubtedly diminished and the alliances formed by some Rájpút princes with the Mughul sovereign had not only weakened the sense of solidarity among the clans but had transferred to the enemy's camp a considerable accession of fighting men, who were the more valuable from their acquaintance with the country and Rájpút modes of warfare. Ráná Partáb knew that his people were no match in the open for the overpowering numbers of the Chagátáïs and that his highland soldiery, accustomed to the irregular but still formidable methods of mountain warfare, were best adapted to campaigns waged by scouring parties and light troops and to the obstinate and felicitous defence of steep passes and rocky forts. Excellent service was afforded him by the Bhíls and other aboriginal tribes whose weapons were the bow and arrow and stones which they rolled down from the hill slopes. For these reasons, Partáb practised his troops in the art of guerilla war and fixed the base of his operations in the steeply-rising uplands. Besides U'daipúr,* situated on the border land between the hills and plains he had at his disposal a series of strong places of which the most important were Konbhalmír † on the Jodhpúr frontier, which stood on one of the Árávalís at a height of some 3,353 feet and Gogandah, a fort of Partáb's erection in the Hind úwára, north of U'daipúr.

It is a fact which must not be overlooked that, even down to the 17th century, no close relations existed between the Dihlí court and the peoples of the Árávalís and that, the extension of imperial territory notwith-

* In 24° 35′ N. L. and 73° 43′ E. L.

† In 25° 10′ N. L. and 73° 40′ E. L.

standing, their position was less one of subjection than of occasional alliance. Partáb therefore whatever courtly chroniclers may say, must not be regarded as a rebel and refractory *zamíndar*. The land he occupied was his own; hereditary vassals followed him to battle; in him every Rájpút recognized his lawful natural suzerain; and this "legitimist sentiment," as definite acts prove, was ineradicable in the hearts even of those Rájpúts who fought under Akbar's banner and were his most loyal generals.* It is true that Sakrá, a brother of the Ráná, had done homage to the Emperor but Partáb himself spurned every overture and, instead of making submission, opened a formidable campaign against the Mughul districts of Rájpútáná. The time (1575-6) was well calculated for such an attack, for already, closely occupied by manifold business, Akbar saw the position of his empire imperilled by the operations in Bengal. His giant army was split up and widely scattered in a number of varied enterprises—such as those on the ever-restless N. W. frontier and by the almost uninterrupted disorder which broke out, now here, now there, in the smaller provinces of the empire. An additional evil was that the Mughul chieftains were frequently unable to control their refractory followers or indeed did not aim at doing so. Muhammadans certainly gave to Ráná Partáb the derisive name of Ráná Kíká and to them his patriotic rising was the daring venture of a "bladder" rebel;† but Akbar showed a clearer apprehension of the

983H.

* After the victory of Gogandah, Mán Singh did not make the most of his victory nor did he ravage the Ráná's territory for which omission he fell for a time into disfavour. Nizámuddín Ahmad, Elliot V, 401.

† From his use of the word "aufgeblasen" I infer that Count v. Noer has taken *kiká* to mean *bladder*. The following note (given to me by

situation by the sound use he made of the means at his command, employing Rájpút against Rájpút in the field as in the council chamber.. Guided by his intimate knowledge of the very essence of the Hindú genius—a genius so cognate with his own—he knew that as diplomatic relations develop sooner and more readily between men of the same race and faith, so also brother is most bitter against brother on the field of battle. For these reasons, on his return from the first Gujrátí campaign, he had sent Mán Singh, the heir of Amber, into the Mewár Ráná's territory on a diplomatic mission. Abul Fazl mentions in this connection, that Partáb entertained evil designs against his guest. At this point tradition steps into her rights, for it is only by her aid that it is possible to distinguish the mainspring of the conflicting forces or of the apparently contradictory play of passion. In the annals of Mewár, as Tod offers them to our perusal, the encounter of the two princes is set forth in detail. It is related that "Rájah Mán Singh was returning from the conquest "of Sholapár to Hindústán when he invited himself to "an interview with Partáb, then at Konbhalmír, who "advanced to the Udaiságar to receive him. On the "mound which embanks this lake a feast was prepared "for the prince of Amber. The board was spread, the

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Kaviráj Shyamal Dás, the present poet laureate of Mewár) is of interest :—

"The word *kíká* is the ordinary name by which children are called in "Mewár. Another form of the word is *kuká*. It was customary with the "princes of the Maháránás of Mewár, to be called *Kíká* before ascending the "throne. Accordingly Partáb Singh was called *Kíká* while his father "Maháráná U'dai Singh was alive. Akbar most probably used to call him "*Kíká* and thus the Muhammadan historians called him Ráná Kíká even "after he became Maháráná." (Extract from a letter dated U'daipúr, 17th October, 1886.) Trs.

"Rájah summoned and Prince Amr appointed to wait "upon him; but no Ráná appeared, for whose absence "apologies alleging headache were urged by his son, "with the request that Rájah Mán Singh would waive all "ceremony, receive his welcome, and commence. The "prince, in a tone at once dignified and respectful, "replied: 'Tell the Ráná I can divine the cause of his "headache; but the error is irremediable and if he "refuses to put a plate before me, who will?' Further "subterfuge was useless. The Ráná expressed his regret, "but added that 'he could not eat with a Rájpút who "gave his sister to a Túrk and who probably ate with "him.' Rájah Mán was unwise to have risked this "disgrace; and if the invitation went from Partáb, the "insult was ungenerous as well as unpolitic; but of this "he is acquitted. Rájah Mán left the feast untouched, "save the few grains of rice he offered to Anndeví "(goddess of food) which he placed in his turban, ob- "serving as he withdrew: 'It was for the preservation "of your honour that we sacrificed our own and gave "our sisters and our daughters to the Túrk; but abide "in peril, if such be your resolve, for this country shall "not hold you,' and mounting his horse he turned to "the Ráná who appeared at this abrupt termination of "his visit, 'If I do not humble your pride, my name "is not Mán,' to which Partáb replied, 'He should "always be happy to meet him,' while some one, in "less dignified terms, desired he would not forget to "bring with him his '*phúphá*" (uncle), *i. e.*, Akbar."

Akbar therefore well knew the man to whom he entrusted the task of subduing the Ráná and he honoured Mán Singh with the title of *Farzand*,—"imperial son."

It was on the 1st April, 1576, that Mán Singh marched out from Ajmír against Ráná Partáb and, penetrating the western foot of the Árávalís, arrived at the pass of Haldighát. The historian Badáoní was an eye-witness of the decisive battle of Gogandah which was fought here, 18th June 1576 and his narrative is therefore appended in full.

2nd Muharram 984H.

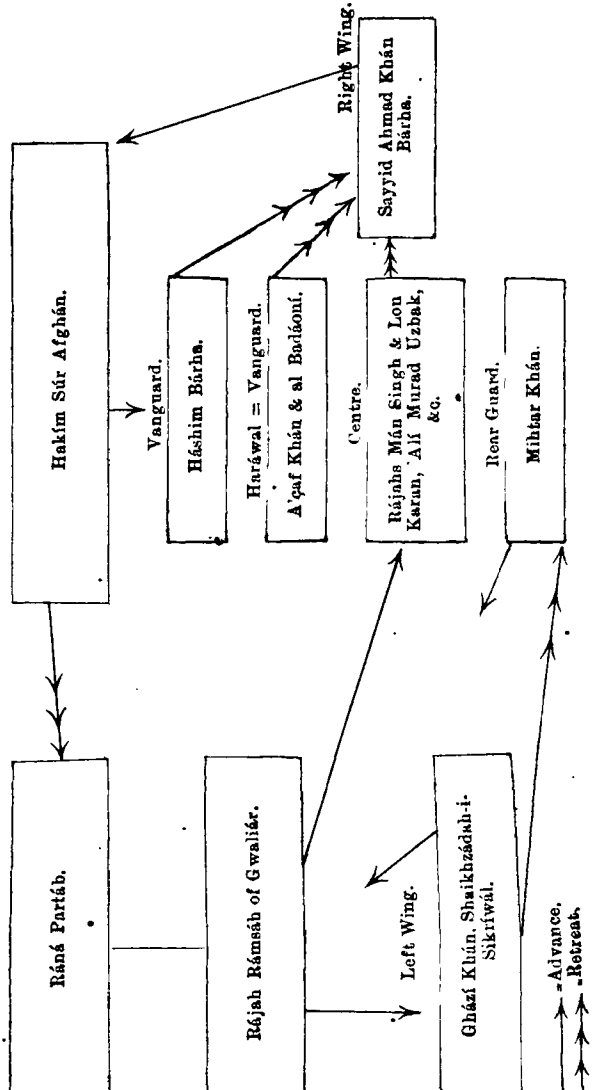
21st Rabí'u-l awwal 984H.

"In the beginning of the month of Rabí'u-l awwal "984H. there occurred the victory of Gogandah* of "which the following is a short account. Mán Singh "and Açaf Khán marched uninterruptedly and arrived, "*viâ* Mandalgarh at a pass called Haldeo,† fourteen "miles from Gogandah which was the seat of Ráná "Kíká and the Ráná came out to meet them. Mán "Singh, mounted on an elephant and attended by "many brave men—such as Khwájah Muhammad Raí "Badakhshí, Shihábuddín Karoh Páyandah Qazáq, "'Alí Murád Uzbak, Rájah Lon Karan the ruler of "Sámbhar, and other Rájpúts—was in the centre and

* Thinking it better to use a translation made direct from the Persian of Badáoní (II, 230—37) rather than through the German, I insert one made by Mr. Beveridge. He has been assisted in his rendering by the German translation in Count Noer's text made by Professor George Hoffmann and by that of Mr. Lowe and he has also received assistance from Maulvi 'Abdul Karím and Maulvi 'Abdul Jabbar. (Trs.)

† Badáoní (II, 230) says *baldah nam darah*, which would mean a town or place called Darah and in this Professor Hoffman has naturally enough followed him, but probably Baldah is a clerical error for Haldí or Haldeo and what Badáoní wrote was, at a "pass called Haldeo." The word *darah* means a pass, or defile, and is so used by Badáoní further on in his description. Nizámuddín calls the scene of the battle *Ghatí Haldeo* and Tod calls it Haldighát. I am told by Kaviráj Shyamal Dás that the name Haldí is given to the place because the earth there resembles turmeric in colour (yellow). Abul Fazl (Ed. Bib. Ind. III, 174,) says the battle took place at a village called Khamnur. In Tod's map there is a village Kamnor lying to the north of Gogandah which again is N.-N.W. of Udaipúr. H. B.

PLAN OF BATTLE OF GOGANDAH.



"a number of distinguished youths were in the van. "In front of these again were some eighty chosen men, "along with Sayyid Háshim Bárha and so they were "called the young advance guard (lit. the offspring of "the van). Sayyid Ahmad Khán Bárha with many "others was on the right wing, Ghází Khán with a "number of *Shaikhzádas* from Síkrí, relatives of Shaikh "Ibráhím Chishtí, was on the left and Mihtar Khán "commanded the rear. The Ráná came from behind "the pass with three thousand horse in two bands. "One, led by Hakím Súr Afghán, came from the west* "side of the mountain in front of the advance guard. "On account of the brokenness and unevenness of the "ground, of the numerous thorny bushes and the "windings of the path, the advance guard and the "young advance guard, or *joza haráwal* got mixed, "and an unsuccessful fight took place. Many Rájpúts "under Rájah Lon Karan fled like a flock of sheep "and, abandoning the advance guard and left wing, "they took refuge with the right wing. At that time "I, the *faqìr*, was in the advance with some dis- "tinguished men and said to Açaf Khán. 'What "sign is there whereby we may discern between friendly "and hostile Rájpúts?' 'Tush,' said he, 'shoot your "arrows; come what may Islám will be benefited, "whichever side is killed.' So we shot our arrows "and I can vouch for it that not a single one missed "its mark in that mountain-like mass of men."

"The heart is the true witness," and again, "the "proof of a true lover is in his sleeve."†

* The word in the original is qablah, *i.e.*, the direction of Makkah, *i.e.*, the west.

† The first of these lines is from an Arabic couplet, the second from its Persian parallel. Both mean that the condition of the body proves the

"Sure it is that my hand attained its object and that "the reward of fighting against infidels was won."

"The Sayyids of Barhá and other heroes did feats "in that battle such as only Rustam could equal and "many men fell on both sides. The other force in "which the Ráná was, came out of the middle of the "pass and fell upon Ghází Khán who was at the "entrance, and swept him away, striking him on his "centre. The *shaikhzádas* of Síkrí were scattered and "an arrow hit their leader, Shaikh Mançúr, Ibráhím's "son-in-law, on the buttock as he was running away, "and gave him a wound which troubled him for a long "while. Ghází Khán, though only a priest, stood his "ground bravely till his right thumb was wounded "by a sword. Then being unable to fight any longer "he cried, 'The traditions of the Prophet bid us fly "when we are powerless,' and so he joined the centre. "Many who had at the first turned their backs went "off ten or twelve miles across the stream. In this "confusion and turmoil, Mihtar Khán dashed forward "from the rear and, striking up his drums, proclaimed "that the imperial army was approaching. This stopped "the runaways. But Rájah Rám Sáh of Gwáliár, "grandson of Rájah Mán Mashur, came in front of the "Ráná and did such execution among Rájah Mán "Singh's Rájpúts that it is impossible to describe it. It "was these Rájpúts who fled from the left of the advance "and were the cause of Açaf Khán's also having to flee "and to fall back on the Sayyids who were on the right. "If the latter had not stood firm everything would have "been lost and there would have been a disgraceful

state of the affections. Their application in this instance does not seem clear.

"catastrophe. The Ráná's elephants encountered the "imperial elephants and two of the latter fell, one on "top of the other, and Husain Khán, the elephant super- "intendent who was on the elephant behind that of Mán "Singh, was thrown and then Mán Singh sprung upon "Husain Khán's elephant, to the place of the *mahout*, "and showed indescribable steadfastness. One special "elephant of the Emperor's attacked the Ráná's ele- "phant, Rám Prasád, a very strong and big animal. "The two drove at one another but it chanced that a "deadly arrow struck the driver of the Ráná's elephant "and the shock of the two animals flung him to the "ground. Thereupon the imperial *mahout* leapt from "his own elephant on to Rám Prásád and so did a "thing which never had been heard of before. Seeing "this the Ráná lost heart, his glory withered and his "troops fell into confusion. The young men around "Mán Singh pressed forward and did deeds worthy of "history. That day it was known from the leadership of "Mán Singh what was the meaning of Mullá Shírí's "line ;* 'A Hindú strikes, but the sword is Islám's.'"

"The son of Jai Mall of Chítor and Rám Sah Rájah "of Gwáliár, with his son Salváhan who had given so "much trouble, went to hell and there remained none "of the Gwáliár family fit to sit on the throne.† 'The "fewer the weeds, the cleaner the earth.'"

"The Ráná was wounded with arrows while con- "fronting Mádhú Singh.‡ And Hakím Súr who "had been opposed to the Sayyids, took refuge with

* Blochmann 610.

† Abul Fazl says that the Rájah of Gwáliár lost three sons and his own life at Gogandah.

‡ Blochmann 418.

"the Ráná and joined forces with him.* The Ráná "was beaten and fled back to the high hills whither "he had gone after the conquest of Chítor, and there "sought for safety. There was now such a burning "wind and the air was so hot, it being then in the "forty days of mid-summer, that the very brains were "boiling in one's head. We had been fighting from "morning till noon and about five hundred men had "fallen of whom one hundred and twenty were Muham-"madans and the rest Hindús. The wounded were "over three hundred. As the air was like an oven, "the soldiers unable to march and the Ráná probably "hiding behind the hill and preparing some stratagem, "he was not pursued and the army returned to their "camping-ground and the wounded were cared for. "The mnemonic verse for this day is. '*There appeared* "*a victory from God.*'"†

"Next day we marched again and, coming to the "field of battle, held an enquiry into the conduct of "everyone in the battle and then, passing through the "defile, arrived at Gogandah. Some of the Ráná's "devoted followers who guarded his palace and some "dwellers in the temples, about twenty in all, slew "their women in accordance with a Hindú custom "when a city is abandoned, and came out of their homes "and idol-houses and sacrificed themselves on their "swords and so gave themselves up to the lords of hell. "Our leaders, fearful of a night attack by the Ráná, "barricaded the roads, dug a trench and put a wall

* Blochmann (340) says that in the *melee* Mán Singh and the Ráná closed with one another and that the latter was wounded. His authority is probably Abul Fazl (III, 175). (H. B.)

† The sum of the values of the letters gives the number 984.

"round Gogandah high enough to keep out a horse-
"man. Then they came, sat down and proceeded to
"make a list of the men and horses that had been killed
"in order that it might go to the Emperor. Said
"Ahmad Khán Barhá, 'As none of us is dead, or has
"lost a horse what is the use of making a list for the
"Emperor? It is better to think about provisions.'"

"In that hill-country there was little cultivation,
"grain was scarce and corndealers (*banjárás*) did not
"come and so the soldiers were in great straits. A
"council was held and from time to time an officer
"was sent out to the hills (*Sikraha*) * to bring grain.
"Wherever they came upon people assembled on the hill-
"tops, they defeated them and took them prisoners.
"Animal food served for a time and there was a in-
"describable abundance of mangoes.† The common folk
"ate them in lieu of other food but the moisture of
"the fruit made most of them ill. Mangoes grow in that
"country, small in size but an Akbárí *sír* in weight; they
"are however not sweet and have not much flavour.
"At that time Muhammad Khán, a special officer from the
"Court, came and explored the field of battle and went
"off next day. He inquired into the conduct of all, and
"everything was approved of, except the not following
"up the Ráná and the allowing him to escape with his life.
"Our leaders wished to send the elephant Rám Prasád
"to the Emperor along with an account of the victory.
"Rám Prasád was part of the spoil and the Emperor's

* Sikraha (Badáoní, 234) is translated by Moulvís 'Abdul Jabbár and Abdul Karím as *carts* and is said by them to be connected with the word *shigrim*. It may also be connected with the Hindí word *sikhar=bhangis* (*i. e.*, burdens carried on a pole slung over the shoulder.) *Shakat* and *shagar* are Bengalí names for a cart. (H. B.)

† Blochmann 67.

"servants had several times before demanded him from "the Ráná but he, out of wickedness, did not send him. "A'çaf Khán named my humble self as a fit person to "be sent, as I had come with the army merely out of zeal "and friendship. Mán Singh said, 'He has yet much to "do, let him stand on the field in front of the army, "and perform divine service.' I said, 'It is superfluous "now for me to perform an Imám's duties here, my duty "now is to go and be an Imám before the servants of his "Majesty.' They smiled and sent me forth with plea- "sure along with the elephant and with 300 horse men "as an escort. They themselves, marching and hunting "and establishing *t'hánahs* (small forts) came with me "as far as Mohaní,* forty miles from Gogandah. Then "they took leave of me and sent me off to the Court with "a recommendatory letter. I went by way of Bákhór "and Mándal Garh and arrived at Amber which is the "home of Mán Singh. Wherever we came people heard "from us the account of the war and of the victory of "Mán Singh but they could not believe it. By chance "when we were ten miles from Amber, the elephant fell "into a quagmire and the further he advanced, the "deeper he sank. As this was my first service of such a "kind, I was terribly perplexed, but at last the villagers "came and said that in the previous year an imperial ele- "phant had stuck in that very place and that by pour- "ing in a quantity of water, the mud had become soft "and the elephant had easily got out. They made the "experiment now and the water carriers having poured "in much water, the elephant got out and came to "Amber to the unbounded joy of the people. I was "three or four days there and then came by way of

* Nizámuddín Ahmad (Elliot V. 402, Note I.)

"Todah which is my birthplace, to Basáwar which is "the first earth that my skin touched. In the begin- "ning of Rabí'u-l-akhir, I was introduced by Rájah "Bhagwán Dás, the father of Mán Singh, and did obeis- "ance in the hall of Fathpúr Síkrí and presented the "elephant and the despatches of the commanders.

"His Majesty asked, 'What is the name of the "elephant?' I said, 'Rám Prasád.' His Majesty rejoined "'As he is a gift of the Pír, let his name in future be "Pír Prasád.' Then he said, 'Many praises of you are "written here. Tell us the truth, in which part of the "army were you, and what did you do.' I said, 'I will "tell the truth in your Majesty's presence though with "a hundred fears and tremblings. How can I speak "what is false?' So I gave him a detailed account of "all that had occurred. Again he asked, 'Were you "armed or unarmed?' I said, 'I had a cuirass, and "armour for my horse.' 'Where did you get these?' he "asked. I replied, 'From Sayyid 'Abdullah Khán.' "He was much pleased and putting his hand into a "heap of gold coins which always lay beside him, he "presented me with ninety-six. Then he asked if I "had seen Shaikh 'Abdunnabí? I answered, 'I have "come to the *darbár* straight from the dust of the road, "how could I see him?' He gave me two fine, gram- "coloured (*nakhudi*) shawls and said, 'Take these and "go and see 'Abdunnabí, and tell him they are from "our own factory and I had them made for him and "he is to wear them.' I took them to him and gave "him the message. He was pleased and asked 'if I "had prayed for him at the time of joining battle as he

* Attributing the victory to the Pír Mu'in's influence. Trs.

"had requested me to do when I had taken leave of "him.' I answered, 'I prayed to God to have mercy on "all believing men and women, to help all who helped "the religion of Muhammad, and to abandon all who "abandoned the religion of Muhammad, on whom be "blessing and peace.' He said, 'This is enough, praise "be to God.' This Shaikh 'Abdunnabí at last went "out of the world by a mischance such as may no other "person see or hear; and may all be warned thereby.*"

"Whomsoever the earth nourishes, at last it sheds his blood.
"What is the condition of that child whose own mother is "his enemy?

So runs the official narrative, but here too popular tradition has evinced her poetic art, and truth lies in the English singer's words:

"Teems not each ditty with the glorious tale?
"Ah! such, alas, the hero's amplest fate!
"When granite moulders and when records fail,
"A peasant's plaint prolongs his dubious date.
"Pride! bend thine eye from heaven to thine estate,
"See how the mighty shrink into a song!
"Can volume, pillar, pile, preserve thee great?
"Or must thou trust tradition's simple tongue
"When flattery sleeps with thee, and history does
thee wrong?" †

In the already quoted annals of Mewár, Tod says: "Partáb, unattended, fled on the gallant Chytuc who "had borne him through the day and who saved him "now by leaping a mountain stream when closely "pursued by two Mughul chiefs, whom this impediment "momentarily checked. But Chytuc, like his master,

* 'Abdunnabí on his return from Makkah was ordered to account for Rs. 70,000 which Akbar had confided to him for distribution amongst the poor of that city. He was imprisoned in Todar Mull's office and after some time strangled by the mob, (Badáoní II, 311.) apparently in 992 H. (Blochmann 273.)

† Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto I, stanza 36.

"was wounded: his pursuers gained upon Partáb, and "the flash from the flinty rock announced them at his "heels when, in the broad accents of his native tongue, "the salutation "*Ho! nila ghora ra aswár*"—Ho! rider "of the blue horse,"—made him look back, and he beheld "but a single horseman: that horseman his brother."

"Sakrá whose personal enmity to Partáb had made "him a traitor to Mewár, beheld from the ranks of Akbar "the "blue horse" flying unattended. Resentment "was extinguished and a feeling of affection, mingling "with sad and humiliating recollections, took possession "of his bosom. He joined in the pursuit but only to "slay the pursuers who fell beneath his lance; and now, "for the first time in their lives, the brothers embraced "in friendship. Here Chytuc fell and as the Ráná "unbuckled his caparison to place it upon Unkarro, "presented to him by his brother, the noble steed expir-"ed. An altar was raised and yet marks the spot "where Chytuc died; and the entire scene may be seen "painted on the walls of half the houses of the capital."

The rescued Ráná hastened along the mountain paths over which night had already fallen; bleeding from seven wounds, defeated and beset, a fugitive but always a prince, unyielding and meditating further resistance.

Sakrá returned to the Mughul camp and his noble deed was recognised by Akbar by the bestowal of many honours; for the incident did not remain unknown to the Emperor. "*Ho! nila ghora ra aswár*," remained the watchword of the Ráná's adherents and has become almost proverbial!*

* It must be said that the last paragraph is in direct contradiction to Tod's story, although in the original included within quotation marks with the earlier paragraphs. Trs.

Hitherto the rebellious Daudá Háḍá had not been put down but had maintained himself in Búndí. The chiefs who were first sent against him took no serious steps for his subjection, but practised politics on their own account and wasted time in fruitless and wearisome negociation during which Daudá gathered more and more defenders around him. By the Emperor's express command, Daudá's father Surjan and younger brother Bhoj took the field against him; with them was associated Zain Khán Kokah; probably for the purpose of keeping an eye on this singular family contest. The arrangement was successful for on 30th March 1577,

10th Muharram, 985 H. Búndí capitulated and accepted Bhoj as its governor while Daudá made his escape.

Meantime a new and serious danger was threatening in Gujrát. Up to this time, Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah had been its governor but he was now recalled on account of differences with the Emperor and in 1576-7, was

984 H. superseded by Vazír Khán, a weak and incapable person.

It soon became evident that the solution of difficulties to which Vazír did not prove equal must be entrusted to some more capable statesman, and to Todar Mall was assigned the duty of supplementing his authority. This

985 H. change in the highest administration (1577) necessarily caused some confusion in an incompletely organized province and the malcontents at once availed themselves of their opportunity. They had no difficulty in finding the pretext which even such disturbers of the peace considered necessary for the conduct of their "chief and state" agitation, in order to veil in the threadbare tissue of

ostensible right the selfishness of their aims. In the present instance the youthful Mírzá Muzaffar Husain, a son of Ibráhím Husain Mírzá with whom his mother had fled to the Dak'hin, was set up as puppet-king of Gujrát, on the merits of his pretensions to the unlawful inheritance of the Mírzás.

The real leader of the insurrection was Mihr 'Alí Kolábí, one of the ancient servants of Ibráhím : from Sultánpúr, the origin of the revolt, it spread in widening circles ; some even of the imperial troops joined the movement and the insurgents by collusion with the inhabitants acquired many towns. Vazír was helpless at such a crisis and would have retired to Ahmadábád, but the rigid Todar Mall forced him to go to the aid of the beleaguered garrison of Kambay and their mere approach effected the relief of the fort. At Dholqah, 24 miles from Ahmadábád, a battle was fought which would have been lost although Vazír Khán, says Abul Fazl, gallantly exposed his life, if the valiant Todar Mall had not forced the enemy to yield, upon which Mírzá Muzaffar Husain fled towards Júnágarh. So soon, however, as Rájah Todar Mall had quitted the just pacified province the Mírzá and Kolábí appeared in his rear before Ahmadábád ; their ranks were swelled by crowds of deserters from the governor's army ; treachery loomed in the very citadel and many townsmen being in league with their countrymen outside, there was reason to fear that the gates would be opened by treachery. Affairs however took a better turn ; Mihr 'Alí was killed by a cannon ball and Muzaffar, being thus deprived of his leader and counsellor, vanished and his unruly army fell asunder. He himself found refuge in Nazrbár and shortly after fell into the hands of

Rájah 'Alí of Kháudesh who after protracted negociations, surrendered him to the Emperor's envoy. He subsequently underwent a long term of imprisonment. In supersession of Vazír Khán, Shihábuddín Ahmad was appointed governor of Gujrát.

Hardly had the scars formed on his wounds, before Ráná Partáb was again moving through his kingdom and the soldiers were trooping anew under his sun banner to oppose his hereditary foe, the Dihlí Emperor. Against him marched Shahbáz Khán and in 1578 laid siege to Konbhalmír when the Ráná, seeing that resistance was hopeless escaped in the disguise of an ascetic *(sanyási)* and found refuge in the mountains. Gogandah and U'daipúr also capitulated. The prudent Shahbáz Khán now erected at suitable points no less than fifty *t'hánahs* in the hills and thirty-five in the plains, thus forming a series of strong block-houses from U'daipúr to Púr Mandal, the little garrisons of which had ample opportunity of perfecting themselves in the perilous duty of frontier service. Shahbáz Khán next prevailed upon Daudá to submit himself. It was he, Abul Fazl says, who had most spurred on the Ráná to rebellion; his life was spared in consideration of the fidelity of his family; he was taken to Akbar in the Panjáb and placed under slight restraint, from which he cunningly made speedy escape and returned to his home.

986 H.

Simultaneously with the occurrences just narrated, there was developed the germ of a widespread conspiracy of Chagátáï chiefs against the Pádsháh. These troubles however find their fit place in a subsequent section of our history, because their causes can be elucidated only by events which have yet to be related.

As an appropriate limit to this portion of the external history of the empire, the 25th year of the reign has been taken.

It should be mentioned that at the end of October 1577, a comet appeared, the blood-red light of which filled credulous spirits with affright and which in its fiery course conjured up awful shapes of impending misfortune. It seemed as if the prophecies of the pious were to be fulfilled, for after the death of the great Sháh Ṭahmásp, in 1576, Persia rang again to the wild cries of partisan battle and was again torn asunder by civil war: the faithful saw Hindústán also pressed home by manifold misfortunes. The witlings of the Mughul court used even this phenomenon as a peg on which to hang their mundane jokes. After the appearance of the comet, the finance minister, Sháh Mançúr bore the nickname of "Longtailed Star," because scholar-like, he troubled himself little about court custom, and disregarding trifles, let the end of his carelessly-folded turban hang down his back.

Sha'bán 985 H.

984 H.

In another fashion the advent of the comet was interpreted by 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak, the ruler of Túrán. He had sent an embassy to Akbar which was not treated with respect but dismissed without a guard of honour; he did not however make this a *casus belli* but, being a cool-headed northern statesman, despatched a second which met with a more friendly reception. After the observance of the usual courtesies, his ambassadors disclosed a boldly-conceived plan of conquest to co-operate in which he desired to win the Pádsháh of Hindústán with all his glory and all his power. His proposition was to make use of the opportunity afforded

by the disputes concerning the Persian succession by possessing himself of 'Iráq, Khurásán and Fárs. Akbar told him in reply that the royal house of Persia was, like his own, descended from Timur, and that old friendship forbade him to sacrifice its rights of priority to the aims of conquest.*

The discussion of Akbar's policy in the north-west will follow in a later chapter.

* That branch of the Timurides which had ruled Persia in succession to the Ilchans was certainly extinct and had been followed by the Safís (page 126 n.) but the "fictitious kinship" was the more convenient to Akbar because it contained a rebuff for the Uzbak parvenu of Túrán. According to Abul Fazl, (Akbarnámah III. 211 ed. Bib. Ind.) Akbar declined the proposal because the dynasty was descended from the Prophet and was connected with himself by old ties of friendship and relationship. Trs.

CHAPTER V.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.*

Distinguished as the whole house of Timur undoubtedly was by political ability, it was to Akbar that the greatest share of the intellectual legacy of his great ancestor from the highlands of the Amur fell, and to him it was allotted to fit the key-stone in the edifice of the unlimited sovereignty of his house.

Communism, upon which was based the elementary notion of the Moslim State is a phase of frequent

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* Abul Fazl, Chalmers, l. c, Vol. I, pp. 284-5, 401-2, 420-1, 433-4, 446 477; Vol. II, pp. 78-9, 119, 154, 165. 195, 202, 228, 234, 239, 244-5, 269, 278, 282-285, 292-3, 298, 347-8, 351, 356-7, 397-8.

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recurrence in the history of nations but the Moslim confraternity of warlike clans differs in many particulars from the village community of the Hindús and the *mir* of the Russian peasantry: these divergencies notwithstanding, the key-note of community of goods is audible in it as in those other experiments at social organization. As the circles widened which had Islám for their centre and as the demon legacy of craving after power strengthened, the communistic foundation broke up. Religious zeal which gives soul to the masses and prompts them to great deeds, is an emotion that cannot persist; the aspirations of the individual soon awake and the selfish impulses must, by their nature, oppose the full vigour of an activity which is uncongenial to themselves because demanding sacrifice. In Islám the general, the judge, the law-giver and the priest fused into one personality; this personality represented the State and to it therefore, all State rights were transferred. In this way the Pádsháh was lord of the collective possessions of his subjects. It is true that according to the teaching of the Qorán, one-fifth only of the revenues of conquered lands belonged to him, but he who could decide on life and death, could dispose also of the states of his kingdom and the goods of his subjects. It is by the use he makes of such powers that a just and sagacious autocrat is discriminated from one unwise and unrighteous. Yet it must not be forgotten that it was manifestly against the interests of a sovereign to proceed harshly against the cultivator, for all diminution of labour power would avenge itself by decreased return. The greater portion of the revenues of a State being in direct proportion to the profits of the cultivating classes, it is natural that a sovereign, in so far as

he is a capable ruler, should direct his attention to promoting the welfare of the most useful class of his subjects.

In a Moslim state, all landed property fell under two heads; that subject to tithe and that liable to tribute: both classes fell again into numerous and varied subdivisions. Tithe-land was granted to Muhammadans, tributary to infidels or rather it was assigned to them for cultivation and partial usufruct. If former infidel possessors of land had made voluntary submission to their conquerors, they were laid under the obligations of a capitation fee and of ground-rent; if they had resisted and had been defeated, their lands were confiscated to the exchequer and they became moneyless labourers upon it, subject to service in *socage* and subsisting on the scanty surplus which remained after satisfying the State demands. Lands so held were called *khálisa*, i. e. crown demesnes. Certain grants called *iqṭáâ* and made by the State to followers of Islám acquired a special form; under Persian influence they became military endowments. The military fiefs of the empire of Hindústán appear under the names of the *jágír* and the *zamíndarí*. The empire was divided into twelve *súbahs* (subsequently into fifteen). These were vice-royalties and as follows: Alláhábád, Agrah, Audh, Ajmír, Ahmadábád, Bihár, Bengal, Dihlí, Kábul, Lahór, Multán, Málwah to which were added later, Berár, Khándesh, and Ahmadnagar. All were seats of government and political and administrative centres and were not merely territorial designations. The empire was further divided into 105 *sarkárs*, which corresponded fairly to European provinces; *sarkárs* were split into *parganas* (called also *mahalls*)

which were re-grouped into *dastúrs*, i. e., administrative jurisdictions. For example, the *sarkár* of Agrah, a tract of 1864 square miles, consisted of 31 *parganas* which were grouped into four *dastúrs*, viz., Haweli Agrah, Etawah, Biánah, and Mandawa.

From these districts portions of varying size were excluded and assigned as *jágírs* and *zamíndárís* by imperial decree to grandees of the Empire. A *zamíndár* was a landholder; it was his duty to collect the revenues from a given district, to promote the administration of justice and to advance the welfare of the peasantry; in return he was allowed a fixed commission on the revenue he collected and also the use of a portion of the land.

The word *jágír* denotes "occupying a place or position" and the Hindú-Muhammadan feudal system of military service was mainly based upon this conception. A *jágírdár* was the proprietor of his land in so far that its revenues were assigned to him; on it he was absolute, practised the *jus gladii* and ruled despotically: such a vassal undoubtedly possessed the *dominium directum* but he was nevertheless responsible to the supreme power, since it was by its favour that he was placed in authority. A *jágír* was either conditional, in that it carried the obligation of following the army of the sovereign or of some other State service; or it was a free gift. Fundamentally the grant was personal and lapsed with the death of its holder: in some cases his heirs retained the fief on payment of a kind of fine to the State, the *nazarana*, or sometimes by a renewal of the *farmán* in their favour by the sovereign. In this manner a *jágír* might remain in one family for several generations and become a fief held in perpetuity, or

even, by the fiction of right of co-proprietorship, a perpetual estate. In opposition to the purely democratic principles of Muhammadanism, a military nobility gradually arose ; this was never rigidly exclusive since it readily assimilated new elements, whether introduced by marriage alliances or by the admission of ambitious men, Hindús or Muhammadans who had raised themselves to high rank and influential office. In estimating the power of the *jágírdárs* this fact must be borne in mind ;—the final property in their lands resided in the Emperor ;—the displacement of a *jágirdár* for a time or permanently and transference from one fief to another are of frequent mention in Muhammadan histories. The liability of a *jágírdár* to the state was proportioned to the extent and emoluments of his estate. The military character of his tenure is shown in the name by which he was designated, *mançabdár.** He filled a *mançab*, a military office, and his rank was defined by the number of horse he provided for the royal army. There were 33 grades of *mançabs :* the commands of royal princes do not come under our consideration and varied from 10, 000 to 7,000 horse ; after these came 30 varying from 5,000 to 10, and forming a series of six, as follows,—from 5,000 to 1,500—from 1,500 to 1,000,—from 900 to 400,—from 350 to 150,—from 120 to 60,—and from 50 to 10.

The soldiers of a *jágírdár* were recruited from the clan of which he was the elective head, from the widespread ranks of his inherited followers and bondsmen and from allies by blood and affinity. The numeral designating the grade of a *mançabdár* did not tally with the actual number of his following ; thus a

* *Mançabdár* is not necessarily a military officer.

Panjhazárí, a commander of 5,000 did not necessarily lead 5,000 troopers into the field; his title denoted rather the maximum number he might be called upon to furnish, a maximum never attained. It is difficult to estimate the usual strength of a *mançabdár's* contingent, but an average of one-fourth of the number indicated by the commander's title will not be too low. *Mançabdárs* of the higher grades were generally governors of *çubahs*, *sarkars*, *etc.* The monthly pay of the commanders of 5,000 varied from Rs. 10,637 to Rs. 30,000; of 1,000 from Rs. 3,015½ to Rs. 8,000; of the captain of 100 from Rs. 313 to Rs. 760. Out of these salaries, horses, elephants, camels, arms, etc. had to be provided. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, a *dahbáshí* or commander of ten, had to furnish 10 men and 25 horses; but in later times the number of horses required fell to 18; each grade of *mançabdárs* would have to provide horses in the same proportion, so that the commander of 1,000, a *Hazárí*, would be required to bring 1,800. The contingents of the commanders of the lower grades were attached to the higher *mançabs* in the relations of 1 : 10 to 1 : 5, in the manner shown in the following scheme:

In *mançabs* of	10,000,	8,000,	7,000,	5,000	to 500.
served those of	1,000,	800,	700,	500,	100.

The contingents of *mançabdárs* of less than 100 did not serve with the levies of the higher grades.

From military *jágírs*, among which may be reckoned *tuyúls* which were royal appanages, must be distinguished *sayúrgháls* which were free gifts and hereditary.* Sovereigns of the various dynasties which in the course of centuries had ruled at Dihlí, had, with

* *Sayúrghál* is the Chagátáï word, the Persian and better known is *madad i ma'ásh*. Trs.

more or less lavishness, created endowments for their favourites or their families; while spiritual revenues had been increased by the pious bequests of kings solicitous for the welfare of their souls. A new dynasty however did not leave all such possessors in the peaceful enjoyment of their acquisitions; investigation for proof of lawful ownership was made with more or less right, in accordance with or often enough disregarding the injunctions of the Qorán; in addition to these inquisitions, the right of the sword was strong in a newly conquered country and according to Abul Fazl's distinct testimony* many Afghán *sayúrghál*s were resumed in favour of Akbar's exchequer. Akbar bestowed *sayúrghál*s upon pious men of learning, *'ulamás*, etc. and on hermits in their various classes; such gifts were called *waqfs* and *aimahs* (pious gifts and pensions.) He bestowed them also on needy persons and members of good families who were incapable of following a profession. A series of regulations was successively made concerning these grants, *e. g.* as protection against the rapine of powerful neighbours, compact lands were to be granted; many persons who held more than 500 *bíghas* of land having been proved guilty of corrupt practices, it was ordered that "they should lay their *farmáns* per- "sonally before His Majesty and in default should lose "their lands." Subsequently it was decreed that when a *sayúrghál* exceeded 100 bighas, three-fifths of the surplus should be resumed to the domain lands: from this rule were excepted the holdings of Túráni and Iráni women and they too within a short period were subjected to its conditions. The revenue derived from each *bígha* varied in the several districts but was never less than

* Blochmann 268.

one *rúpí*.* In the following chapter will be mentioned the radical changes which were made concerning *sayúrghál*s which belonged to the priesthood. The supervision of lands of the *sayúrghál* class was in the hands of the *Çadr-i-Jahán*, the "breast of the world," who was supreme judge in all causes spiritual and temporal and also at times assumed the rôle of Grand Inquisitor. Subordinate to him were special functionaries for the different provinces. His power and influence were enormous, since it depended upon his pleasure only whether a fief should be granted and whether it should be resumed or renewed, increased or diminished. Such an office demanded inflexible dignity, unyielding probity, a strong sense of justice and thorough practical knowledge. It is hardly necessary to say that a man uniting in his person all these qualities and capable of resisting the temptations of his office, was rarely or never found: experience revealed frightful misuse of state property and disclosed corruption in the whole personnel of the administration from the Çadr himself to his carpet-beater. The great losses incurred by the exchequer and the wasteful and scandalous practice of nepotism led to a remodelling of the department. Contemptuous as the remedy may seem, Akbar could devise no other than the diminution of the power of the Çadr. The slight and ever-diminishing possibility of finding a pattern officer dictated the abandonment of the ideal and the safe-guarding the powers of the office by their diminution.

* Nizámuddín Ahmad mentions a special kind of *sayúrghál*. According to him the cultivated land of any person under whose roof the Emperor had rested was to be free of tax and tribute by way of *madad i ma'ásh*. This is perhaps only a remission for a definite period. (Elliot V, 408.) In a note to the same page Elliot says: "This passage * * is found in only one copy."

Up to the time of Akbar, there had been no uniform land survey, a first condition of organized taxation. He systematized the government revenues by establishing a standard land-measure, in place of the former *jaríb* which had been of varying dimensions. Hitherto the instrument of mensuration had been a piece of rope which, being sensitive to the influence of the weather, gave, says Abul Fazl, "opportunity to the arts of the perfidious." It was therefore unfit to be a standard instrument and in its place Akbar substituted a "measure of bambus, joined together with rings of iron." Akbar's standard land-measure, the *jaríb*, consisted of 60 Iláhí *gaz;* each *gaz* was equal to 41 fingers breadth, *i. e.* one English yard, so that the newly defined *jaríb* was equal to 60 yards. A square *jaríb* was a *bígha* which therefore was equal to 3,600 Iláhí *gaz*. Upon the basis of this uniform measure a cadastral survey was made in 1574, in accordance with which the method of culture determined the rate of taxation. Four classes of cultivation were distinguished: (1) *polach*, land which required no fallow; (2) *pirautí*, that which lay fallow for a short period in order to renew its productive power; (3) *chách*ar, that which had remained untilled during three or four years, either because the rotation of crops included pasture and was complete in this period or because some other cause, natural or artificial, (war, inundation, etc.) had induced the fallow; (4) *bánjar*, land which had been out of cultivation for five years or more and which no doubt included rich virgin tracts. According to their quality, *polach* and *pirautí* were divided into three classes; good, middling and poor land. They were assessed in the following manner:

the produce of a *bígha* of each class was taken and the average of the three was assumed as the average produce of a *bígha;* of this average one-third was fixed as the ground rent per *bígha.* For example ; if a *ráiyat* had three *polach bíghas*, say in wheat, one being of each class, his spring harvest would yield as follows :

(1) Land of the 1st quality ...	... 20 *mans.**
(2) Land „ „ 2nd „ ...	... 14 *mans.*
(3) Land „ „ 3rd „ ...	... 8 *mans.*
Total produce...	... 42 *mans.*
1–3rd as the average for a *bígha*	... 14 *mans.*
1–3rd as impost on one *bígha* ...	... 4⅔ *man.*
Total impost for three *bíghas* ...	... 14 *mans.*

The above simple calculation shows that on a farm containing *polach* land in the three qualities, this rate of assessment was highly advantageous, because it corresponded always to the produce of the average field.

Pirautí lands were assessed by the same rule as *polach.* For *cháchar* lands it was customary to demand 2-5ths of the produce of the first year of cultivation ; 3-5ths of the second ; and 4-5ths of the third and fourth : in the fifth year it was treated as *polach.* Thus if 5 *bíghas* had laid fallow during 4 years and were then taken into cultivation, being sown with three *bíghas* of rice and two of sesamum, the ratio at the autumn harvest would be as follows :—

1st year. (*a*) 2 *bíghas* of sesamum ...	... 4	*mans.*
(*b*) 3 „ „ rice ...	... 5½	„
Tax from (*a*)	... 1¾	„
„ „ (*b*)	... 2½	„
2nd year. (*a*) 2 bíghas of sesamum ...	... 6	„
Do. „ „ rice ...	... 7	„
Tax from (*a*)	... 3⅝	„
„ „ (*b*)	... 4¼	„

* *Man* or *maund* = 82 lbs. avoirdupois. Akbar's *man* was only = to 34¼ lbs. (Wilson.)

3rd and 4th year	(*a*)	2 bíghas of	sesamum	13 and 15	*mans*.
Do. „	(*b*)	3 „	„ rice ...	14 and 17	„
Tax from	(*a*)			10½ and 12	„
„ „	(*b*)			11⅓ and 13⅓	„

In the next year *polach* rates would obtain. Throughout the first quadrennium, the tax was levied without consideration of the quality of the land. In the above illustrations, the produce per field is stated arbitrarily but this is immaterial as it does not impair the correctness of the rule.

The clearing and cultivation of *bánjar*, was necessarily least burdened by taxation; laborious *ráíyats* were willingly assisted in it from the royal exchequer by grants of seed corn; the imposts on it for four years were as follows; (1) 1.40th. or 1–20th. of a *man*; (2) 1-8th. of a *man*; (3) 1-6th. of the produce and a *dám**; (4) 1-4th. of the produce. After four years it fell under *polach* rates. It is to be borne in mind that a great part of the *bánjar* lands gave promise of considerable profit; thus, on the lower courses of the Indus and the Ganges, there stretched rich lowlands of productive alluvial soil which needed but the plough to reward the *ráíyat* with manifold harvest; lands really waste were never subject to taxation.

Akbar gave the tax-payer the choice of payment in money or kind: the advantages of the latter mode must have been so great that it may well have been constant in the contracts between the State and the peasantry; this method will also unquestionably have been more profitable to the State in the long run.

* A *dám* = $\frac{1}{40}$ of a *rúpí*; a *rúpí* = 2*s*. 2*d*. (Engl.) (In December 1889 one rúpí = 1*s*. 4¼. Trs.)

On the cultivation of pure luxuries a tax in ready money was levied: such articles included radishes, melons, betel, the choicer materials of the toilette such as henna: also all plants such as indigo, hemp, sugar-cane, the production of which in its later stages was of the nature of a manufacture and which, by its expense and the number of workmen employed, implied the possession of a certain amount of capital. To prevent possible discouragement arising from the demand for ready money, Akbar when fixing a new standard of coinage, directed the tax-officers to reckon at their full nominal value old coins which were still in circulation; a course which must have caused no inconsiderable loss to the treasury. The tax regulations which have been enumerated, remained for the most part in force after the introduction of the decennial settlement" elaborated by Todar Mall and Muzaffar Khán. This ten years' settlement arose in consequence of the almost invincible difficulties caused by the continually recurring measurements, valuations and assessments of individual properties. For this reason, the payments of the years 1571 to 1580 were taken as the basis of the revenue and the tenth part of it was fixed as the unalterable annual rent. Edward Thomas rightly censures this arrangement as being injudicious, because unfair to the cultivator. Hindústán, with its variable climatic conditions, its floods, its frequent droughts and its destructive heats, is full of risks for agricultural labours; and, as is shown in the reports of the Anglo-Indian government, bad and middling seasons are the rule and good ones only the exception. Every failure of crops must have awakened bitterness and distaste for further labour among the rural

population ; on the other hand, the tax-gatherers were bound by the Emperor's instructions to collect the taxes and the *ráiyats* had to cover the deficit with any savings they might have accumulated. Thus to the trouble and outlay which had produced perhaps a bare half of the impost, was added loss of capital. In this straitened condition, new sacrifices were constantly offered to money-lenders notorious for usury, and the ruin of the peasant householder was often the lamentable sequel. If Akbar's revenue be estimated at £20,000,000, this sum may have been realized once in a decade, once exceeded and in the remaining years it must have fallen below this sum to amounts varying from 17 to 18 millions. Under the most favourable circumstances the deficiency resulting in ten years must have reached a total of some £10,000,000 which deficit must have been made good from rural capital. Akbar's efforts to secure uniformity were undoubtedly dictated by the best intentions but they laboured under the defects of every purely theoretical experiment and, in creating this ten years' system, Todar Mall acted rather as a financier than as a political economist.

The peasantry received some compensation for their losses in the abolitionary labours of the Emperor and his great counsellor who removed or reduced no less than 22 imposts more or less accurately described as on agriculture. A few only of these need mention. The poll-tax which every unbeliever had to pay in proportion to his property and which bore the name of *jizíah* was hateful to the Hindús as a lasting reminder of their lost independence and the mode of its collection contributed to nourish their anger and

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hatred against the Moslims. Its abolition by Akbar in 1565, was therefore a measure of profound statesmanship. The loss consequent upon its abolition must have been considerable; no accurate estimate of its value is found in the *Aín* but it is probable that it was as considerable under Akbar as under Fírúz Sháh, in whose reign it was levied in three rates respectively of 40, 20 and 10 *rúpís*. *Bách'h*, (a rate on holdings of co-parceny occupants), and *tamghá* (inland tolls) were modified at the same time. As the reduction of port dues and ferry fees would promote trade and the transport of country produce, customs were lowered to two and a half per cent. and river navigation was encouraged by the fixture of tonnage dues at one *rúpí* per *kos* for every 1000 *mans*:* the maximum ferry charges were 10 *dáms* (4 *annas*) for an elephant and the minimum 1-16th of a *dám* (1-40th of an *anna*) for the lowest beast of burden. Two imposts were abolished, one (*gau shumari*) on cattle, and one (*sar darakhti*) on trees: a number of gifts also were prohibited which having been founded on abuse, had become transformed into fixed allowances paid to the royal commissaries of the tax and assessment offices as well as to *dárogáhs*, (overseers) *tahsíldárs* (collectors) and treasurers, all of whom veiled their extortions under the pretence of customary right. Many other abuses were reformed; *e. g.* payments made by the country people on the illegal demand of local courts for the exercise of their official functions. Specific duties such as on hemp,

* 1,000 *mans* (= 20,000 kgr.) = 19,61 (Engl.) marine tons: 1 *kos* = 2¼ (Eng. miles) therefore 19,61 tons were conveyed 2¼ miles for 2*s*. 2*d*. (E. Thomas says "Roughly 2*s*. per 2¼ miles for every 24·5 tons." Trs.)

hides, slaughter-houses, tanneries, and *ghí* were abolished and also a tax called *bálkáti* (literally, "cutting ears of corn") a duty on the standing crop which was exacted at the beginning of the harvest and therefore at the time when the *ráiyat* had most need of his resources for the hire of labourers. Indian agriculture owed the revival of an excellent and humane institution to the pilgrimage which preceded Akbar's march into Bengal in 1574. From that date trustworthy persons were appointed to appraise the damage and loss caused by the passage of royal troops through the country districts and they either set the amount against the government claim for revenue or satisfied the claims at once and thus avoided vexatious complaints and discussions.

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These statements will suffice for understanding the compensation which must have accrued to the peasantry in spite of the high rate of Akbar's ground-rent. The position of the husbandman was certainly not enviable but it was tolerable and when compared with that under previous administrations, was good. It is not that all his predecessors, like the genial, whimsical Mu. Toghlaq, had shattered the State credit by fantastic experiments in finance, such as the introduction of paper money, and had thus driven the precious metals out of the country, but the change of dynasties, the numerous wars and the internal disorders had for some centuries, checked the stable prosperity of agriculture. Bábar's accession brought about a renewal of order; Sher Sháh's interpolated reign also was not unfavourable to the development of Hindústán and he created a security of intercourse and of trade and traffic on the highways which had been previously unknown. His

companions and counsellors were subsequently Akbar's: among them were Todar Mall and the eunuch Phúl Malik, on the last of whom the Emperor bestowed the title I'timád Khán* (the trustworthy one): he had been a minister of Sálim Sháh, son of Sher Sháh whom also he had probably served. The reforms described and to be described were for the most part instituted by these men, among whom Todar Mall was *facile princeps*. It must be remembered that many of Akbar's institutions were not new, but were modifications and improvements of earlier institutions in accordance with the circumstances of his time.

The rates of taxation and mode of assessment having been briefly indicated, it will be desirable to sketch also the provincial departments and method of collection. There were four ways of recovering the ground-rent: (1) by the separation of a portion of land in crop, (2) by an appraisement of the standing crop; (3) by the valuing of the sheaves; (?heaps.) (4) by an exact weighment of the corn. Omitting the *sipahsálár*, the viceroy and highest civil and military authority in his *çúbah;* the *faujdár*, the judge of criminal courts, and the *kotwál* who was the chief officer of police for a town and the superintendent of the markets, we come to the actual tax-collector (*'ámal* or *'ámal-guzar*) the account keeper and treasurer (*díwán*) and the paymaster (*bakshí.*) Subordinate to the *'ámal* (who was also known as *karorí* (from *kror* = 10,000,000) because he had the control of a circle of taxation which produced 10,000,000 *dáms* (£25,000) there was a large staff of subordinates, charged with the work of surveying, weighing and

* Not to be confounded with the Gujrátí noble who invited Akbar to Gujrát.

making assessments. The *'ámal* had to keep accurate accounts and the tax-payer was entitled to a written acquittance. The whole system rested on close reciprocal supervision and to check dishonesty, the charge of the receipts was allotted to one person and of the payments to another. By this division of labour, by frequent systematic inspections, by careful keeping of the treasure under lock and key, in well-sealed bags, by all this troublesome and wearisome supervision, order and stability were rendered possible in the finance department. Every night the cashier and other officers counted the money in hand and the register concerning it was signed by the *'ámal*; every month from each provincial circle a fully detailed and accurate report of the management with specific accounts was sent to the Emperor who himself examined them before granting a discharge. To prevent an accumulation of specie which would have favoured embezzlement, there was a rule that whenever the receipts in a provincial treasury amounted to two *lakhs* of *dáms** the money should be despatched by a safe hand to the central treasury.

Abul Fazl says that the *'ámal* had to regard himself as the natural friend of the *ráíyat*, and this expression well describes his position. He was bound to assist him by word and deed; it often lay in his power to decide the fate of hundreds of *ráíyats* and it rested with him to interpret royal instructions by the letter or the spirit; by moderation in the exaction of taxes, he could save whole families from ruin and by severity, he could reduce them to beggary. He was charged with the investigation of claims to rent-free holdings and

* One Lakh = 100,000 pieces of coin: 2 lakhs of *dáms* = £500.

other assignments of land ; he had to adjudge upon the relations and conduct of arrogant *jágírdárs* in their dealings with the inhabitants of districts adjacent to their seats ; and at all times he had to communicate the more weighty occurrences of his jurisdiction to the court. His income was mainly derived from a percentage on the taxes which passed through his hands to the exchequer.

When the land register was first instituted, many *'ámals* or *karorís* began by abusing their power and laid upon the *ráíyats* the most intolerable burdens ; in doing so they had overlooked the administrative revolution effected by reciprocal control, accurate bookkeeping and facility of inspection ; above all they had reckoned without Todar Mall, the finance minister without portfolio, who performed the duties of *vazír* while refusing to assume the title.* The zeal with which the surveys were made was in inverse proportion to their distance from their central starting point, Fathpúr Síkrí ; just as a stone ripples the water far and wide but more faintly and sparsely as its circles spread. Directly proportioned to the distance from the capital was the rapacity of many of the *'ámals* who chased the miserable peasantry from house and farm by the aid of arbitrarily framed *farmáns*, drove off their cattle from the pastures and sold their wives and children into slavery. Todar Mall, the all-seeing and all-hearing, made short work with these unfaithful servants of his Emperor who perverted noble plans to abuse and who scourged not alone his Hindú countrymen but also the poor Moslims. The offenders were brought before him and stern justice

* Chalmers l. c. p. 282.

was dealt out to them. Badáoní, with unmistakeable anger at these proceedings on the part of a Hindú, states that many "good men" died on the rack and under the bastinado and that hundreds perished miserably in prison so that they had no need of an executioner. He compares them "with the devout Hindús "of Kámrúp who having dedicated themselves to their "idol, live for one year in the height of enjoyment, "appropriating everything that comes to their hands; "but at the end of the period, one by one, they go "and assemble at the idol temple and cast themselves "under the wheels of its car or offer up their heads to "the idol." Todar Mall's chastisement worked a wholesome effect and the new system soon took firm root.

In sharp contrast with the tenantry—whether holding large estates or like the vast majority, living as petty cottiers on their patches of land and, with wretched tools, wresting a scanty harvest from the soil—was ranged the well-organized array of baronial feudatories. The enjoyment of numerous privileges lifted them conspicuously above the mass of the people and their land which was cultivated by slaves or by the freemen of their clans, yielded them a more plentiful harvest. Returning from their campaigns, the *jágírdárs* brought valuable booty, in the shape either of broad pieces or of costly carpets, splendid arms, well-wrought utensils and vessels of precious metal or, for their harems, of silken garments of fine web, and necklets, armlets and anklets gleaming with gems.

To the Chagátáïs in Hindústán fell the fate of others in like circumstances; almost before they were at home in their beautiful new domain, they yielded to the dangerous influences of civilization; with all the

exuberance of national youth, they surrendered themselves to the luxurious and manifold pleasures of their stranger home and, though not at once ruined, became enervated: many lavishing their wealth in debauchery and in the maintenance of a regal magnificence. The polished mode of life and its host of requirements were a cause of desperate indebtedness to many of the Túrkí nobles; the interval separating them from forefathers who under Chingíz Khán had ridden plundering over half the world, was yet too short for them to have acquired the discretion to distinguish at all times between the mine and the thine of their suzerain and their neighbours; their notions of hereditary monarchy also were indistinct, for they had still present to their minds the electoral assembly of their earlier days, the *kuriltaî*. Defiantly they blustered on their own lands, demeaning themselves like independent sovereigns, encroaching, now here, now there, with the naïveté of children who think all they see their own, and making the State tenantry suffer, without respite, by their irregularities. The semi-sovereignty assumed by these warriors explains in part their rebellions and more or less important revolts; disturbances which were an over-flowing tide, rising higher and the more rapidly the greater the power and wealth cast into its flood. Akbar's repeated struggles with his vassals bred experience in him which stood him in good stead even if it was obtained by loss. Under its teaching, he made an effort to crush the power and arrogance of his nobles and a characteristic feature of his policy was his endeavour to bring them into closer and therefore firmer dependence upon the court and their sovereign. By slow degrees he had assured to himself a faithful confrater-

nity of Hindús and he at length opened a straight-forward attack upon the ranks of the feudatories: he struck in boldly at the most formidable point by invading the interests of the *jágírdárs*, although knowing that nothing is more irritating than a hand laid upon personal interests, whether these be legitimate or otherwise. It is from this point of view that we must now consider the question of the *dágh o mahallí*, if we would grasp its significance.

Up to this time the obligation imposed on the *jágírdárs* of providing military levies had been to them an inexhaustible source of gain. The grade of a *mançabdár* and, in most cases his pay, being fixed in accordance with the number of men in his contingent, it was customary for *jágírdars* and candidates for *mançabs* to appear at the musters with some certain number of men and horses, but it gradually came to be the case that, at the beginning of a campaign, the *mançabdárs* appeared with less than the average strength of their *mançab*, with unserviceable remounts and men untrained and under age. It is not surprising that many thousands of such recruits and horses foundered under the strain of the fatigues and hardships of war; only so much the more remarkable is it that, with so much inefficient material, Akbar should have won a series of such brilliant successes. Certainly his losses during his campaigns would have been far less had noble gentlemen led into the field a better qualified following. These deceptions and sham levies were the rule with most of the *jágírdárs* who regarded the state loss as their allowable gain; events which will be narrated give proof of the existence of this view. Year after year vassals appeared at the place appointed for

the muster of the contingents, with an increased number of men and year by year their *mançabs* waxed in proportion to their larger levies. On their return to their homes, those men who had been put into uniform to swell the levy dispersed, horses were turned to house and farm purposes and the sorriest nags were set apart for the Emperor's service. Candidates for fiefs frequently lent one another troopers and equipment which they needed for the muster; Badáoní, the observant chronicler of all unpleasantnesses, speaks plainly enough of soldiers being lent for this occasion. To combat these abuses, that excellent servant Shahbáz Khán, in 1573, restored the practice of using a *dágh* (stamp)—a practice customary under 'Aláuddín Khiljí—and improved and systematized by Sher Sháh. The *dágh* was a stamp and a sign of State ownership. Sher Sháh had prided himself upon the institution which he had claimed as his own invention; a claim which need not be disputed because he did actually bring the undeveloped germ to maturity. It is stated on good authority that he allowed nothing to be paid for that had not been marked with his stamp which thus, in his time, must in its most extended sense have been an order on the exchequer or a marking of royal property.

981 H.

Shahbáz Khán made the branding of military chargers a statutory institution; this branding was known as the *dágh o mahallí*.* All horses brought to the musters as remounts, all elephants and camels were there and then branded in a fixed spot on the head

* Abul Fazl defends the institution against such as see in it a cause of pain to animals; he defends it on the ground of utility. (Blochmann l. c. p. 232.)

with definite marks which varied according to breed, class of troop, etc. At a new muster only those horses were counted which had been previously branded and their brands were entered in a well-kept register. In this way spurious mobilization and the temporary raising of effective strength for the purpose of obtaining an increase in the *jágír* were prevented. If a candidate for a *jágír* brought 250 men and 450 horses, the average numbers required to obtain the grade of Commander of a Thousand *(Hazárí)* the horses were branded; if however he wished to obtain a higher, *e.g.* one of Commander of over 1500, he had to make an additional provision of 125 men and 225 horses, which were in turn branded while those previously marked were remarked with a new stamp. By these means *jágírdárs* were compelled to keep up a breed of chargers; after the institution of the *dágh*, who would lend horses which the stamp made State property? The musters were held annually; if any noble by his own fault delayed appearance beyond the date appointed for the inspection he was fined 1-10th. of his income; *jágírdárs* who held border fiefs were accustomed to have their horses branded only once in 12 years; but they too were fined 1-10th. of their income if they allowed more than six years to elapse without rebranding. As usual the rigour and severity of the law promoted the growth of artifices and stratagems for its evasion. These however seem to have been limited to the formation of a kind of association for the equipment of troopers, in order to enjoy the accruing profit. Here again it is Badáoní who laments that herb and vegetable sellers, weavers, in short all the worthy fraternity of artisans and shop-keepers press to

the musters and pocket the profits which a horse or the half of one will yield. Akbar used the most extraordinary means to trace these impostures but he used to say, "With my eyes thus open, I must give these men pay, that they may have something to live on." Badáoní interjects in his narrative "Weigh well these facts but put no question." The incisive importance of the *dágh* will best be estimated from the ardour of opposition aroused by its introduction—the recital of which falls to a subsequent chapter. From the consideration of these affairs it is a natural transition to those of the army.

The contingents of *jágírdárs* and *zamíndárs* were composed exclusively of cavalry. Abul Fazl gives the effective strength at 4,400,000 men. The standing army, the troops in the emperor's pay were, according to Badáoní, 25,000 and it is certain that in the latter years of Akbar's reign, they consisted of some 12,000 troopers and 13,000 artillery and matchlock men. These troops were paid from the royal treasury, and for the most part received pay and equipment direct; they were employed partly as bodyguard and guards of honour for the Emperor and his relatives, served as garrisons of strong places, as provincial troops under the *sipahsalar* and supplemented the officials of the tax-bureau. The sons of well-born families, were formed into a kind of gentlemen's corps, (*guarda nobile*) under the name of *Ahadís*; they were under the command of the Emperor himself through his lieutenant who was an *amír* of high rank; they received a careful education and were employed as guides, staff-officers, state-couriers etc. The regular troops were organized according to their arms and their duties

(in their ranks were runners, servants, boxers, etc.) and their pay was regulated to the utmost details and according to definite principles. The *Á'ín* contains minute statements on this subject. In order to give an illustration of the system we take the matchlock men, the *bandúqchís*. They received five rates of pay in as many grades of rank and in each grade there were three steps. Every ten *bandúqchís* were under a *mírdahah* (a man placed over ten.) The pay of a *mírdahah* was of four grades, 300 *dáms*, 280*d*., 270*d*., 260*d*. per month. A *mírdahah* must be distinguished from a *dahbáshí*, (page 268) whose name has the same signification, since the *dahbáshí* received a grant of land and the *mírdahah* a simple salary. The monthly pay of the five classes of ordinary *bandúqchís* appears in the subjoined table.

Classes	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	
1	250	240	230	*dáms*
2	220	210	200	„
3	190	180	170	„
4	160	150	140	„
5	130	120	110	„

A special body of infantry was maintained at the Emperor's cost and placed at the disposal of such *mançabdárs* as were unable to raise levies themselves. These men were called *dákhilís* and served as fortifiers, carpenters, pioneers and sappers. The above statements with reference to the regular army will suffice. The stables, arsenals and workshops for military purposes were maintained in the most complete order; Akbar himself inspected all at frequent intervals. A host of well-trained functionaries managed these departments and large sums were expended in the preserving and perfecting of the machinery and other appurtenances. Akbar plunged with unwearied zeal into the smallest

details, he was acquainted with every wheel and every spring of the huge machine and by his pre-eminent practical knowledge and study of minutiæ (even down to the bills of fare) he established rigid order in the State and excellence in the executive. He was an adept in mechanics and directed his attention specially to gunnery. Abul Fazl, in his exceeding admiration of the Emperor frequently confounds him who gave a commission, with the real maker and inventor, but it is with interest that we learn that the Emperor really did devise two improvements in gunnery ; "which have astonished the whole world." He contrived a cannon, "which for lighter conveyance could be taken to pieces on the march and when required, put together rapidly ;" apparently a kind of siege gun. "By another invention, His Majesty "joins seventeen guns together in such a manner as to "be able to fire them simultaneously with one match." He caused marine and siege guns to be cast according to special instructions. The training and keeping of elephants was a most important department, demanding a multitude of attendants, trainers, etc. and costing enormous sums of money. The use of elephants in war is well-known. To prevent neglect, the Emperor instituted a long list of money fines for offences against his instructions. From an occurrence in the Bengal campaign, it may be judged that the loss of an elephant touched him nearly. In crossing the ferry of Chausá, a valuable elephant was lost by the fault of Çádiq Khán who was in consequence deprived of his *jágír* and forbidden to prostrate himself again before the throne until he had procured another animal as valuable. This sentence may appear less severe if one remembers that a good elephant was worth from 5,000 to 10,000 rúpís.

Horse-breeding also flourished, and in the Imperial stables stood the finest coursers of Arabia and Persia, the swiftest and most enduring horses of Turkistán, Kashmír and Badakhshán, which, like mules, traverse rugged mountain paths in safety. There was a constant and brisk trade between the Court and the dealers in horses, and the choicest animals were purchased to keep up and increase the number of remounts. The 'Aín contains the most minute directions as to food, fines, relay-horses, etc. Vast establishments were kept up also for mules, camels, and other draught, saddle and pack animals. The Imperial household, so far as it served the Emperor and Princes and the harem did not differ greatly from that of earlier sovereigns ; its expenditure, in 1595 was some 7,729,669 rúpís* although the salaries of several officers of the Court figured in the military budget.

1004.

The *Vakíl* was the Emperor's representative, prime minister, and chancellor ; below him ranked the keeper of the seal (*muhrdár*), the private secretary (*munshí*), the master of the ceremonies (*mír tozak*), the Grand Forester (*mír barr*), the quartermaster-general, (*mír manzil*), etc.†

To give a clear picture of the ceremonies observed at Akbar's Court, a description is here inserted, by Nizámuddín Ahmad, ‡ of the reception of Suláimán Mírzá of Badakhshán (p. 236 n). "On reaching Mathúra, 40 miles from Fathpúr, the Emperor sent several nobles to meet him, and to arrange for his meeting the Emperor on the 15th Rajab, 983. All the nobles and officers were sent out

Oct. 20 1575.

* Over £770,000.

† Blochmann l. c. vi.

‡ Elliot V., pp. 393-4.

to the distance of 10 miles from Fathpúr-Síkrí to receive him; and when intelligence of his having reached this stage was brought, the Emperor himself went out on horseback to meet him. Five thousand elephants, with housings of velvet and brocade, with gold and silver chains, and with black and white fringes on their necks and trunks, were drawn up in lines, on each side of the road to the distance of ten miles from Fathpúr, between each two elephants there was a cart (*arába*), the chítas in which had collars studded with gold, and housings of fine cloth; also two bullock-carts, which had animals that wore gold-embroidered head-stalls. When all the arrangements were made, the Emperor went out with great pomp and splendour. Upon approaching, the Mírzá hastened to dismount, and ran forward to His Majesty; but the Emperor observing the venerable age of the Mírzá, also alighted from his horse, and would not allow the Mírzá to go through the usual observances and ceremonies. He fondly embraced him; then he mounted and made the Mírzá ride on his right hand. All the ten miles he inquired about his circumstances, and on reaching the palace he seated him by his side on the throne. The young princes were also present, and were introduced to the Mírzá, and after a great entertainment he gave the Mírzá a house near to the royal palace."

The actual head of the finance department was the *Wazir* or *Diwan*, the head treasurer, the "administrator of the revenues and the cultivator of the wilderness of the world." Subordinate to him were innumerable tax-gatherers; and the *Waqi'ahnawís* (news writers) also belonged to his department. These, as their name implies, were chroniclers, and were according to Abul

Fazl first organised by Akbar. It was their task to note with care all important incidents in the court life, occurrences in the provincial administration, in the life of the Emperor, his journeys, amusements, etc. Their narratives therefore, became contemporary official records concerning the private life of the Emperor ; they served also as *fontes juris* by reason of the decrees and regulations which were recorded in them, and from them transferred to the annual registers, and as the basis for history of the conflicts which were agitating Hindústán in the domains of politics, faith and administration ; conflicts in which the Emperor won and maintained the mastery.

Todar Mall, who had been at the head of the finance department since 1583 (page 280), had contributed much to effect the reforms we have sketched. He had as colleague and opponent Muzaffar Khán, and with whom he wrangled continually. To Todar Mall Blochmann ascribes the creation of Urdú (Hindústání). Up to his time all financial accounts had been kept in the Hindí language and with Hindí numerals ; Todar Mall gave orders that in all official documents Persian and Persian numerals should be employed. By this means he compelled his countrymen to learn Persian, a study hitherto neglected by them, and without which they were incapacitated from entering into the higher careers of the State. By this means also it came to pass that before the end of the 18th century the Hindús became teachers of Persian to the Muhammadans. In Upper India there gradually formed a dialect called Urdú from the mixed elements of Persian, Arabic and Túrkish, with some admixture of Sanscrit and Hindí. This dialect would never have come into existence nor have contained the germs of further growth without the medium

of the Hindús. The administration of the finances rested upon the *daftar* (book or record) system. Payments were made only upon exhibition of written authority (sanads), the acquittances and other documents were kept loose in sheets slightly fastened together presumably because books bound in European fashion would not have withstood the influences of the climate.* The exchequer department was divided into offices for receipts, for payments and for military acounts; the debit and credit offices being kept scrupulously apart. Annual disbursements were calculated in round sums and taken up at the head office by the chiefs of the different disbursement offices. A varied and busy life teemed at the head treasury, the central point of all State money transactions, to which streamed the produce of taxation from all the branch establishments of the *súbahs* and their subordinate jurisdictions. The other branches of the revenue were appropriately divided among various offices; there were sections for dealing with tribute, gifts, endowments, and for escheats. The strictest control was exercised over the registers kept by the clerks. Payments were made at the crowded treasuries to clerks, to needy persons, to the thousands of people who ministered to the varied wants of the royal household; purveyors, artisans, horse-dealers, etc. Here, too, *jágírdárs* and commanders could obtain loans at fairly high interest; loans which, however, were rarely reclaimed. "It looks as if he lends," says Abul Fazl,

* Blochmann (l. c. p. 260, n. 1) explains by climatic grounds the custom of keeping these sheets unprotected; possibly there existed a deeper reason. The officers were for the most part Hindus, and as such must have regarded leather as prohibited. The brahmans gave over a MS. of the Vedas to the Anglo-Indian Government only on the condition that it should not be bound in leather; it was, therefore, placed in a silken binding.

"but in his heart, he makes a present." Under the eyes of men such as Todar Mall and Muzaffar Khán the most exemplary order prevailed. Dishonesty and embezzlement could not but subsist in an institution of such colossal dimensions, nevertheless unexpected inspections and verification of the cash balances, documents, etc., gave evidence that the mass of the employés were both scrupulous and capable.

The coinage formed an important item in the administration of the finances. It was of gold, silver, and copper: there were 42 mints, in four of which coins were struck in the three metals; there were 10 in which silver and copper were coined, and 28 in which copper alone. The seat of government for the time being had, as such, the right to coin money; besides this, the principal mints were at Ahmadábád, Alláhábád, Agrah, Ujjain, Súrát, Dihlí, Patnah, Lahóre, Audh, Ajmír and Patan.

The art of coining and of refining had already reached a state of high perfection, and it received every encouragement from Akbar. Following the example of Sher Sháh, he aimed at obtaining the greatest possible purity in the metals employed. The monetary system was simple and homogeneous throughout Hindústán; its bases were the *muhur* and *rúpí*. It would lead us too far to enumerate the individual gold coins; three only as being struck regularly, month by month, need be, mentioned viz. the quadrangular *jaláli*, of the value of 10 *rúpís*; the *d'han*, or half *jaláli*; and the *man*, or quarter. Special permission had to be obtained before stamping the remaining 23 gold coins.

Mention must be made of a few of the many institutions which Akbar called into existence for the social and political advantage of his people.

So early as 1573 he prohibited the practice of enslaving prisoners of war; in the year following he abolished all taxes on pilgrims: these had been levied on religious assemblies and other such undertakings and their amount had varied at the pleasure of the sovereign, depending on his greater or less zeal for the Prophet and his own pecuniary needs. It is evident that by these reforms Akbar would increase the attachment of the Hindú population to himself.

Familiar to us already are Akbar's pilgrimages to Ajmír; in 1584, he built a palace at each station along the road between that city and Agrah and sank a well and placed a pillar, adorned with the horns of antelopes which he had himself killed, at each *kos*. His kindness was shown to all, irrespective of faith; he built asylums for the poor and for travellers, and placed persons in charge who were empowered to provide meat and drink and viaticum at his expense. It happened in 1580, that as he sat at table, the thought occurred to him that possibly some hungry persons had looked at his viands with longing eyes. "How, therefore," asks Nizámuddín Ahmad, "could he eat it while the hungry were debarred from it? He therefore gave orders that every day some hungry persons should be fed with some of the food prepared for himself, and that afterwards he should be served." According to the same authority, he caused a large reservoir in the court-yard at Fathpúr to be filled to the brim with coins of all values, which were gradually distributed to the amírs, the poor, the holy and the learned; it was three years before the treasure basin was exhausted.

991. In 1583, Akbar built two houses outside Fathpúr for the use of *faqírs*, both

Hindú and Moslim ; to the first he gave the name of Dharmpúra ; to the second, that of Khairpúra from the usual expressions for charity, *dharmma* among the Hindús and *khair* among Moslims. As many *Jógís* (Hindú mendicants) used to flock to the neighbourhood of the capital a special house was built for their accommodation, called Jogípúra.* The expediency of such establishments will be recognized upon consideration of the prominent part played in the East by these two great religious systems. Akbar's daily gifts to the poor and the presents made on his pilgrimages must have consumed a very considerable portion of his revenues. Edward Thomas has estimated Akbar's annual gross income at £32,000,000. Taking into consideration the change in the value of gold, this sum would represent at the present time a much more considerable sum : Europeans of Akbar's time were moved to wonder at his revenues.†

This sketch of the internal administration of Hindústán under Akbar will go far to prove our main point ; it shows him to have been a statesman of noble thoughts, high aims and genial character. Blochmann rightly apprehends his political dealings when he says that the secret of Akbar's success was the care with whch he entered into the details of a subject in order to arrive at the understanding of the whole—a rare trait in a sovereign of those days.

* As a curiosity, should be mentioned Shaitánpura, *i.e.*, Satan'sville, a quarter lying outside the town proper, and in which nátch girls, etc., were compelled to live. Fuller details are to be found in Badaoni Elliot V, 575, and Rehatsek l. c, p. 49.

† Purchas l. c. pp. 36 *et seq.*

CHAPTER VI.

Downfall of the Ulamás. Dín Ilahí.*

Akbar was great as a general, as a statesman creative, and down to the present day he is unsurpassed as a practical exponent of genuine humanity.

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* Abul Fazl's Akbarnámah. (Chalmers,) vol. II. passim.

Abul Fazl's Aín i Akbarí. (Blochmann.) p. 159 et, sq.

Shaikh Núrul Hakk's Zubdatut Tawáríkh Elliot, vol. VI, p. 89. Of special importance are Badáoní in Elliot, vol. v, 517 et seq, and in Blochmann, p. 167 et seq. Also E. Rehatsek's translation of the Emperor Akbar's repudiation of Eslám, Bombay, 1866; Dabistán ul Muzáhib. Anon. trans. by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, Paris, 1843. vol. III.

Prolégoménes historiques d'Ibn, Khaldoun, in the Notices et Extraits des manuscrits, Paris 1862, vol. XIX p. 364 et seq.

L'Histoire des choses plus memorables advenuës tant aux Indes Orientales qu'autres pays, de la decouverte des Portugais, en l' établissement et progrez de la foy Chrestienne et Catholique. Et principalement de ce que les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus y ont faict, et enduré pour la mesme fin depuis qu'ils y sont entrez jusques a l'an 1600. Par le P. Pierre Du Jarric, Tolosain, de la mesme Compagnie, A Valenchienne, Chez Jean Vervliet, MDCXI. My attention was drawn to this valuable work, as well as to several other rare European writings referring to Akbar, by my learned friend A. C. Burnell. It is an inestimable mine for the relations of Akbar to the Jesuits, to Christianity and for his religious theories. At the same time it represents the life and doings at the emperor's court from an impartial and European stand-point. Especially consult p. 599 et seq.

Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay: vol. I., Lon. 1819; J. W. Graham's Treatise on Sufism, Lon. 1820.

Akbar; some Notice respecting the religion introduced by the Emperor Vans Kennedy, account of Mahummud Mehdi.

Hugh Murray's Historical account of discoveries in Asia vol. II, p. 82 et seq. Lon. 1820. (Not altogether trustworthy; on p. 82 Akbar is called the successor of Aurungzib, although the latter was born 14 years after the death of Akbar.)

At the time to which we have traced the story of his life, he had received the homage of the free princes of Hindústán and had curbed his refractory feudatories; he now challenged a conflict the most hazardous into which a sovereign can adventure, let him rule in what land soever—a conflict against the servants of the Church; the old but ever renewed struggle of free thought against slavish dogma, between the might of the state and the influence of the priesthood. History has recorded numerous instances of the grapple of these two forces, the mightiest in the life of nations. Often enough has the temporal power leagued itself with the hierarchy, often made it concessions, but few indeed have been the sovereigns, who have possessed at once the courage and the ability to throw down to it the gauntlet of defiance. To attack institutions and traditions which centuries had transmitted as sacred

H. H. Wilson's Account of the religious innovations of Akbar, vol. II pp. 379 et seq. Post. Works Lon. 1862.

Blochmann's Badáoní and the religious views of the Emperor Akbár. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. March 1869.

Blochmann's Biography of Abul Fazl prefixed to the Aín i Akbarí.

Dozy's Essai sur l'histoire d'Islamisme, trans, by Chauvin, Paris, 1879 A. V. Kremer's Geschichte der herrschende Ideen etc. and Culturgeschichte. des Orientes unter den Khalifen, 2 vols. Vienna, 1875. Dugat's Histoire des philosophes musulmans Paris, 1878.

Garcin de Tassy's L'Islamisme. Paris 1874. 3rd ed.

Garcin de Tassy's Poésie philosophique et religieuse chez les Persans. Paris 1875. 2nd ed.

A. V. Kremer's Molla-Schah et le Spirituallsme, Oriental, Journal Asiatique, Feb. 1869.

Morganländische Mystik. Tholuck's is Berlin. 1825.

Berolini's Ssufismus. 1831.

Palmer's Oriental Mysticism. Cambridge. 1867.

Ethé's Morgenländische Studien. Leipzig. 1870.

Brown's Dervishes or Oriental Spiritualism. Lon. 1868.

Theodor Goldstücker's Literary Remains. Lon, 1879.

Max Müller's Introduction to the Science of Religion. Lon. 1873.

was in the East a hazard of double and even threefold peril. From the earliest dawn of the Islâm, faith and law, church and sovereignty had been so amalgamated, so completely the product of one and the same casting, that the man who would undertake to hammer asunder the brazen tables of tradition needed to take heed lest he drew down destruction on his own head.

It has been asserted that Muhammedanism has no clergy ; the name may indeed be lacking but the existence within it of a priestly corporation is undeniable. The devout disposition of various Muhammedan conquerors instituted countless small endowments in favour of men who devoted themselves exclusively, or at least by preference, to religious avocations, who read and expounded the Qorán and who occupied themselves with the ever increasing *fontes juris*, which were decisive in matters both spiritual and temporal. Wealthy private individuals emulated princes in founding libraries, academies and high schools; the revenues of considerable estates and the usufruct of numerous pious bequests contributed to form, in countries under Moslim rule a firm foundation upon which gradually uprose the vast bulk of ecclesiastical possessions. From these sources flowed an inexhaustible spring of maintenance for the order of the 'Ulamá. They developed into a well-organized confraternity : they became teachers in the madrasas ; and their ranks furnished the judges, *i.e.*, qázís, çadrs, muftís and mír adls. Close interdependence of state and religion made it natural that the administration of justice should lie in their hands—a privilege perverted by the majority for the purpose of personal aggandisement. To them was entrusted the management of sayárghals (page 270) and of bequests

and gifts to the church. As upholders of learning, as counsellors in matters of conscience to prince and people they became inwrapped in the splendour of a higher might and of inviolable authority. They became a party of influence at court and their significance was by so much the more weighty that they stayed themselves upon the divine Qorán. Admission to their order offered a prospect of rapid promotion in office and fief and, to men of pliant conscience, the possibility of acquiring wealth, power and reputation ; every ambitious youth therefore, to whom war, as a path to fortune, offered less attraction aimed at becoming a maulana.

The mass of the strict Sunnis of India were under the immediate leadership of the 'ulamá and clove, body and soul to the "pillars of the faith." With true theologic rigour and intolerance these persecuted both non-Muhammedans and such Moslims as dissented from their tenets. Their violence weighed like a nightmare upon the spiritual life of the empire and the inveteracy and intolerance of the caste manifested itself in the unremitting persecution of sects within the Islám. Besides the Shias, who by their freer apprehension of religious problems had long been a thorn in the flesh of zealous Sunnis, there was one sect which especially piqued the 'Ulamá to irritation ; it was that of the Mahdawís (believers in the doctrine of the millenium), which after undergoing many transformations had now acquired a compact form. The belief in the end of the world and in a day of judgment at the expiration of a thousand years of the Prophet's teaching had struck root much earlier in the minds of pious enthusiasts ; now that the last century of the millenium had arrived

the adherents of chiliasm increased rapidly. Relying on the utterances of the founders of their creed they believed that, in the thousandth year of the Hijrah the roll of the eleven Imáms—the Khalífas or successors of Muhammed—would be closed by the appearance of a twelfth and last, the Imam Mahdí, the "lord of the age," and that thereafter the world would come to an end. Ancient prophecies of misfortune, scarcity and terrible wars were fulfilled; for Hindústán was at this time the field on which two peoples wrestled for empire. Several Mahdís arose, of whom two worked with most enduring influence, Mír Sayyid Muhammed of Jaunpúr until 1505, and from 1549 onwards Shaikh Aláí in Biána to the south-west of Agra. During the Afghán ascendancy in Hindústán, the 'Ulamá had made furious attacks upon the Mahdawís using against them all available means, including the sword and banishment; they had ample excuse for vigorous action in the aim of the chiliasts which was nothing less than their own downfall and the freeing of the people from their yoke.

911, 956.

In 1555, Shaikh Mubárak of Nágor, a man of the highest repute for learning and who traced his descent from an Arab dervish of Yemen, had become a convert to chiliast doctrines. One of his ancestors had crossed to Sind in the 15th century, and from Sind, in the beginning of the 16th, the then head of the family, Shaikh Khizr, journeyed to Hindústán. After many wanderings, he settled at Nágor, north-west of Ajmír where in 1505 after the death of several children, a son was born to him, to whom he gave the name Mubárak, the blessed. Shaikh Mubárak as he grew up

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displayed unusual gifts ; he prosecuted his studies principally in Ahmadábád, and settled subsequently, in 1543, near the Chárbágh villa which Bábar had built on the left bank of the Jamná opposite Ágra. Here were born those two of his sons whose lives were destined to be so closely interwoven with that of Akbar ; Abul Faiz in 1547 and Abul Fazl, January 14th, 1551. Mubárak was an affectionate father and devoted himself with ardour to the task of training his sons. All existing accounts describe him as a man of comprehensive learning and vivacious intellect who could assuredly derive permanent satisfaction from no one dogma and who pursued in succession various opinions. A wide circle of intelligent pupils spread his doctrines which may be described as Shia tinged with Chiliasm. His most formidable opponent was 'Abdullah Ançárí of Sultánpúr who having been appointed by Humayún Shaikh ul Islám* and honoured with the title of the Makhdúm ul Mulk† had assumed the leadership of the 'Ulamá with fanatical ardour. As his double title sufficiently attests, he was the state-appointed, clerical head of the faithful; he had considerable powers at his disposal which he well knew how to wield against his antagonists: a man of immense energy and dominated by an ignoble thirst for gain, by vanity and spiritual pride he saw, and rightly, in the opponents of orthodoxy the enemies of the interests which his order had won by adroitness and had as adroitly preserved. On the disgrace of Bairám Khán, when the Hindústání Sunnis again took the helm of affairs, the Makhdúm ul Mulk

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6 Muharram 958

* Head of the Islám.

† One who is served by the kingdom.

sought permission from the young emperor to bring the heretical Mubárak before him and, as a warning to others, to chastise him for his unbelief. The Shaikh at once fled for refuge to Akbar's generous and sagacious foster-brother, Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah, in Gujrát who succeeded in mitigating the emperor's sentence on Mubárak by pointing out that the Mahdawí lived in indigence and had not become a burden to the State by asking for a sayúrghál, while his enemies held rich rent-free lands and weighed heavily on the exchequer. After this mediation, Mubárak took courage to return to court. Accompanied by Abul Faiz, he presented himself before 'Abdunnabí, the then Çadr Jahán and proferred a request that one hundred bíghás of land might be given for the maintenance of his son, at that time barely 20 years old, but already renowned for his poetic work; they however were chased with scorn and insult from the hall of audience. At length the fame of the young poet reached the ears of the emperor, and his presence was commanded during the Chítor campaign in 1567.

975. Akbar was besieging the fort at the time that his messengers arrived at A'gra and announced his wishes with respect to Abul Faiz to the courtiers. The 'Ulamá chose to interpret the command as a citation for defence and persuaded the governor to set a guard over the dwelling of the calumniated family. A detachment of mughal soldiers suddenly surrounded Mubárak's house and penetrating to the inner-chambers ill-treated the defenceless old man, who alone was within. When Abul Faiz, or as his poetic name (takhallus) is pronounced, Faizí, returned to his home, he was arrested, thrown upon a horse and carried off to Chítor at the rushing gallop of his

wild and rough companions, the mughal troopers. The tenderly-nurtured youth, being regarded as a captured criminal was not treated even with gentleness. This false notion, designedly suggested by the 'Ulama was first corrected when 'Aziz Kokah led Abul Faiz into the Emperor's presence and he received the most friendly welcome. From that time forth, the keen-witted Faizí was ever a welcome guest at the imperial court. His younger brother had from childhood given promise of an astonishing prematurity and keenness of intellect; he had devoted himself entirely to scientific pursuits, and had impelled his genius over the most widely diversified fields of knowledge. Philosophic studies had most power to enchain him and he strove ardently and with success to assimilate the wisdom of the most dissimilar ages and countries. The young scholar recoiled from the exigencies and annoyances of official life, which must forbid the contemplative leisure which he deemed needful for the exercise of his intellectual activity. He was further apprehensive of the superior strength of those who hated and envied his father. An important change in the direction of Abul Fazl's studies took place when his brother had smoothed the way by winning Akbar's confidence through his literary productions, his generous character and his polished savoir-faire. At the beginning of 1574 Abul Fazl* was first introduced by Faizí to the Emperor from whom he met a reception so affectionate that he forsook his seclusion and disposed himself to tread an unfamiliar path. On this subject he writes as follows in the Akbarnámah: "As

981.

* Chalmers l. c. vol. II., p. 93.

fortune did not at first assist me, I almost became selfish and conceited, and resolved to tread the path of proud retirement. The number of pupils that I had gathered around me, served but to increase my pedantry. In fact, the pride of learning had made my brain drunk with the idea of seclusion. Happily for myself, when I passed the nights in lonely spots with true seekers after truth, and enjoyed the society of such as are empty-handed, but rich in mind and heart, my eyes were opened, and I saw the selfishness and covetousness of the so-called learned. The advice of my father with difficulty kept me back from outbreaks of folly; my mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia or to the hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Thibet or with the padrís (patres) of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pársís and the learned of the Zendavesta. I was sick of the learned of my own land. My brother and other relatives then advised me to attend the court, hoping that I would find in the emperor a leader to the sublime world of thought. In vain did I at first resist their admonitions. Happy indeed, am I now that I have found in my sovereign a guide to the world of action and a comfort in lonely retirement; in him meet my longing after faith and my desire to do my appointed work in the world; he is the orient where the light of form and ideal dawns, and it is he who has taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is, may yet harmonize with the spiritual unity of truth. I was thus presented at court. As I had no worldly treasures to lay at the feet of his Majesty, I wrote a commentary to the Á'yat ul-Kursí (a verse of the Qorán) and presented it when

the emperor was at Agra. I was favourably received and his Majesty graciously accepted my offering."

Just at this time Akbar was making arrangements for his march on Bengal (page 223). Abul Fazl remained behind at Agra in the hurry of departure and perhaps not against his will; his brother accompanied Akbar. On the emperor's return to Fathpúr Síkrí, Abul Fazl was again introduced to his notice. It is at this time that the period of religious discussions opens. Gradually there had arisen in Akbar's mind doubts, which his friends had fed, as to many of the precepts of the Islám. Often would he pass his mornings seated on a stone outside the inner palace of Fathpúr, meditating upon the abstruse problems which importuned him. It weighed heavily upon his heart that without generous fellow-champions he could not accomplish the great task he cherished of making India a land of happiness;—then a kind fate sent him the two sons of Shaikh Mubárak. He unhesitatingly recognised that his aim would be best compassed by public conference and the discussion of all ideas, doctrines and dogmas; he knew that it is living speech which best elucidates and which produces stable results. He had heard of the doings of Sulaimán Kararání (page 214) and was aware that his kinsmán, Mírzá Sulaimán of Badakhshán displayed Súfic leanings. To facilitate general discussion Akbar built in Fathpúr Síkrí, a splendid building which was designated the Ibádat Khána;* it contained four galleries and was

* In the Calcutta Review for Oct. 1882, p. 193, an interesting reference to the Ibádat Khána is made by Mr. Keene. "On the opposite side of the great enclosure (within the palace of Fathpúr Síkrí) visitors are shown a strange structure, commonly called the Diwán-i-Khás From the centre of the ground-floor rises a thick column, some ten feet high, on the top of

intended for the assemblies of learned and holy men who were to meet on the evenings of each Thursday and discuss controversial matters. The western gallery was assigned to the Sayyids the descendants of the Prophet; the southern to the 'Ulamá and other scholars; the northern to the shaikhs and the arbáb-i-hál, "the men of ecstacy," and the eastern to the courtiers and commanders.

The session lasted till dawn, the emperor passed from one side to another and frequently took an animated part in the conversation. From all sides, from all lands, a stream of inquirers and theologians set into Síkrí.

983. In 1575, Hakím Abulfath arrived from
984. Gílán; in 1576, Mullá Muhammed of Yezd and Mir Sharif of A'mul; all three were Shias, the first two, strict believers, the last a man without settled convictions. The discussions in the Ibádat Khána took a direction which could not but embitter the emperor against the 'ulamá. Their opponents, men such as Abul Fazl and Hakím Abulfath, quick-witted and prompt to strike were their superiors in

whose capital a broad entablature is joined by four causeways to the four corners of the room: on the sides are four galleries, each commnicating with the centre entablature by one of the four causeways. It can scarcely be doubted that this is the Ibádat Khána of contemporary writers with its four aíwáns (galleries) for the different classes of disputants; in one the Ulamá-the orthodox heads of the established hierarchy,—in another the Shiá teachers, in a third the heterodox thinker, in the fourth the courtiers and soldiers who represented the world. On Thursday nights the Imperial inquirer would take his seat, cross-legged, on a carpet spread in the centre of this massive cobweb, and act as moderator of the discussions." The building identified by Mr. Keene as the Ibádat Khána may certainly serve as no inaccurate symbol of Akbar's eclecticism, his tolerance and his independence of thought. Apart yet not dissevered, linked yet not fettered his place was in the calm centre of the dialectic cyclone. Here, however, being very human, he did not always remain, but he sometimes plunged into the storm of one or another of the antagonistic galleries. (Trs.)

understanding and attainments; it not unfrequently happened that they disagreed utterly among themselves on important points and hurled at one another accusations of godlessness and heresy, thus exposing weak places at which their adversaries were able to embarrass them. For the most part, their arguments were feeble and impotent and they therefore seized the weapons which conscious weakness and chagrin are wont to fashion in such straits. They declared themselves scandalised by the audacity of the topics brought under discussion and were not seldom so carried away by anger and excitement that they resorted to violence in the very presence of the emperor. Wild cries sounded, clenched fists and flaming eyes were displayed before Akbar and this by the revered 'Ulamà, who instead of bringing forward objections and making defence with moderation and dignity shouted like a pack of ill-bred school-boys. Akbar's resentment and contempt were increased by disclosures on the part of some of the courtiers of the disception and craft employed by the 'ulamà and chief among them, by their head, the Makhdúm-ul-Mulk for the purpose of accumulating wealth and intercepting taxes. Akbar determined to inflict radical punishment upon the leaders and began therefore with the highest, the Makhdúm-ul-Mulk, 'Abdullah Sultanpúrí, whom, according to Badàoní, he summoned to an assembly with the intention of humiliating him;* the lights of the church were hard pressed by

* Rehatsek (l. c. p. 6.) has this meaningless passage: "Makhdumul-malik had invited Mollana Abdullah Sultànpúry to this assembly for the purpose of insulting him," as though anyone would invite himself for the purpose of his own humiliation. This must be added to "The only erratum worth mentioning," on p. 105. (i. e. u dh for a dh.) For the correct version see Blochmann l. c. p. 172

Hàjí Ibràhím and Abul Fazl and at the climax of the dispute some of the courtiers detailed such of his corrupt dealings as were within their knowledge. At this date originated the decrees that all the holdings of 'uḷama should be ratified by the Çadr.

In the course of one of the Thursday's debates, the theologians were so indiscreet as to insult the emperor personally. He had propounded a question as to the number of wives lawful to a Moslim and some of the ardent spirits declared themselves for a view of the question which would have reduced Akbar's free-born rájpút wives to the level of concubines; 'Abḍunnabí, the Çadr expressed himself equivocally and thus gave offence which was never pardoned. Akbar derived more satisfaction from the moderate dictum of the Shias who recognize as lawful so-called marriage-contracts (mu'tah) which may be made for from one hour to 99 years.

The doctrines of Súfism were of pre-eminent importance in Akbar's religious development; they were advocated by both Abul Faizí and his brother, and their most celebrated adherent in Hindústàn, Shaikh Tàjuddín of Delhi, was amongst Akbar's favourites. Súfic opinions were of early appearance in the Islàm, and are the expression of the mysticism of oriental Muhammedanism. Schopenhauer* holds that Súfism is an outcome of the doctrine that "in all individuals of this world, however infinite their number and close their succession one only and the same truly-existent Being manifests itself, present in all and identical in all." E. von Hartmann finds in mysticism the source of religion and philosophy and asserts that the essential for

* Schopenhauer's Grundlage der Moral, Collected works, vol. IV., p. 268-269. Leipzig, 1877.

these is, the "filling of the consciousness with contents (emotion, thought, desire,) by the involuntary emergence of these contents from unconsciousness." He also makes mention of Súfís.* Even if these classifications are correct yetSúfism demands fuller definition. The word súfi is generally, and indeed by an inquirer so distinguished as Ibnkhaldán† derived from the Arabic word súf—wool—because the adherents of the doctrines of Súfism had a custom of wearing undyed woollen garments to symbolize their freedom from desires. Numerous orders of dervishes have been upholders of this spiritualism. Súfism is, on the one hand the rebellion of free thought against the coercion of a creed; on the other it is an expression of man's deep yearning after a knowledge transcending the limits of experience—the eternal and never-stilled metaphysical prompting. Between Súfism and the wisdom of India, the doctrines of salvation of the Buddha Sakyamuni, and Zoroaster, there exist delicate lines of agreement, and the theory gains ground that Sufism has a genuine indo-aryan origin. It is certain that it germinated in the soil of the Islám but its later inferences are in sharp antagonism to the letter of the Qorán. Hence arose the necessity of preserving appearances and of defending with dextrous sophistry, its daring innovations by injunctions of Muhammad himself in order to be able to propagate as a permitted luxury the forbidden fruit of its tree of knowledge. It was on the wave-crest of poetry that the Súfi soared to the

* E. V. Hartmann's Philosophie des Unbewussten, 8th ed. Berlin, 1878, vol. I. Part B. Chapter IX. Das Unbewusste in der Mystik p. 3C6 et seq. especially pp. 314 and 317.

† Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits etc. publiés par 'l Institut etc. vol. XII., p. 299 et seq. Paris 1831.

heaven he dreamed. He fixed the gleaming jewels of the spirit in the gorgeous setting of the perfected stanza. Persian poetry is above all others the treasure-house of moslim mysticism ; it may be likened to a bounteous tree which yields fruit and shade to all who wander beneath its boughs and which lifts its head into the ethereal blue so that a climber sees from its crest an enchanting prospect through the infinite spaces of the universe. Or it may be likened to a magic stream the crystal wavelets of which refresh all, but which transports the initiated into regions of highest ecstacy. In these Persian poems the glowing hues of Asia blend with her exquisite perfumes. There where a profane reader finds only jovial songs of love and wine, he, who is initiated, hears the solemn tones of the primitive chant of pantheism, the "Ἓν Καὶ Πᾶν" "Πᾶν Καὶ Ἓν." The empty show of individual existence, the deceptive appearance which causes objects to seem of countless diversity passes away and the Súfí feels himself one with his deity ; he recognises that he and all individuations are but effluence and manifestation of the Substance.* From the sages of India, to the divine Spinoza, from Spinoza to the much-misapprehended and profound Schopenhauer every metaphysical system has been but a variation on this universal theme.

In Súfic writings, human life is often compared to a journey in which the various stages mark progressive steps in the knowledge of God, and the last is immersion in the All, the soul of the universe. Súfís also compare God to the beloved and the human soul who strives to know to the lover. As the foundation

* Spinoza's Ethik, translated, elucidated, etc., by J. H. V. Kirchmann (Philos. Library) Part I. : Von Gott D. I-6.

of their doctrines is humanity and its desires, all the barriers between differing creeds fall before thinkers who have progressed further and to whom these creeds seem but the outer form of the same aspiration—to love God. Doctrines such as these, stamped their professors as natural enemies of the Muhammadan priesthood, which for its part stood defiantly on its rights and fulminated against the atheists. It is impossible to avoid the reflection that the pantheism which is embodied in Súfism when analysed and carried to its logical conclusion does not admit of the existence of a God and, as Schopenhauer has emphatically pointed out in several passages, it altogether cancels his existence. The sublimation of all individuality might lead even a drunken dervish to proclaim "I am God." Súfism is however worthy of respect on account of the practical ethics deduced from its teaching. It inculcates unselfish devotion to ideal aims and the renunciation of worldly possessions; it enjoins humanity and the most complete tolerance towards other forms of faith. Its professors were not mere fantastic enthusiasts and ascetics; the central principles of their belief might serve as beacons for every noble endeavour. The tendency towards Súfism is unmistakeable in the poems of Faizi.* In one of his ghazals (odes or sonnets) he thus speaks;

1. My travelling companions say "O friend, be watchful; for caravans are attacked suddenly."

2. I answer, "I am not careless, but alas! what help is there against robbers that attack a watchful heart?"

3. A serene countenance and a vacant mind are required, when thou art stricken by fate with stripes from God's hand."

* Blochmann l. c. p. 555 et seq.

Again: 1. Those who have not closed the door on existence and non-existence reap no advantage from the calm of this world and the world to come."

2. Break the spell which guards thy treasures; for men who really know what good luck is have never tied their good fortune with golden chains."

The following ode is significant:

1. "Come let us turn towards a pulpit of light, let us lay the foundation of a new Ka'bah with stones from Mount Sinai.

2. "The wall of the Ka'bah is broken, and the basis of the qiblah is gone, let us build a faultless fortress on a new foundation."

He points out the unreality of the diverse creeds and schemes of theology: "In the assembly of the day of the resurrection, when past things shall be forgiven, the sins of the Ka'bah will be forgiven for the sake of the dust of Christian churches." In a rubáí (quatrain) he thus speaks of Akbar: "He is a king whom, on account of his wisdom, we call zúfunún (possessor of the sciences,) and our guide on the path of religion. Although kings are the shadow of God on earth, he is the emanation of God's light. How then can we call him a shadow?"

The conferences in the Ibádat Khána pursued their course; questions vital to the Islám were gradually brought under discussion; the wrath of the ultra-strict, repressed hitherto with difficulty now blazed forth; in their own camp flamed dissension and quarrel; of all Akbar was an attentive eye-witness. The dissentients from the Islám, and the free-thinkers took up a stronger position; Akbar's bias in favour of things Hindu made itself felt, in explanation of which

due weight must be allowed to the influence, quiet but effective, of the Rájpút princesses of his harem with whom he had the habit of celebrating the "homa" a Hindú rite of high antiquity, and a form of fire-worship. He was surrounded by great warriors and counsellors drawn from Hindú races and the guards of his harem were Rájpúts. His mind was deeply permeated with Hindú ideas. It was about this time that he commanded the presence of learned bráhmans at his court amongst whom special mention is made of Puru-'khotam and Debí. The first was a frequent visitor in the private apartments of the emperor, acquainted him with the secret wisdom of the Hindús, and instructed him in the sacred language. Akbar's restless spirit impelled him to ponder the most abstruse questions and to seek enlightenment, sometimes even in the stillness of the night, on problems which from time immemorial have been "the scoff of fools and the endless meditation of the wise." Debí used to be pulled up the wall on a *chárpaí* to the balcony in which the emperor slept; possibly because he did not wish to pollute himself by the immediate presence of an unbeliever or because there might chance to be ládies in the balcony.* Hanging thus between heaven and earth the bráhman responded to the inquiries of the philosophising Pádsháh and imbued his theory of existence with the imposing doctrines of the Upanishads. Debí began and ended his discourses as Manu enjoins with the mystic word "om."† He spoke to

* Shaikh Tájuddin was wound up in the same manner. Blochmann l. c. p. 181.

† Goldstücker l. c. vol. I. ps. 122, 205: P. Regnaud, Materiaux á l'histoire de la philosophie de l' Inde, Part I., p. 176: in the library of l'Ecole des hautes Etudes et Sciences philol. et his. 28 Fascic. Paris 1876.

his listener of the Tṛimúrti (Hindú Triad) of which this word "om" is the formula (o = a + u) namely Brahmá (a) Vishṇu (u) Śiva (m): he discoursed of the heaven of the gods and of the soul of the universe. It was assuredly from Indian sources that Akbar learned the doctrine of metempsychosis which teaches that souls wander through a motley crowd of forms in conformity to their actions until they have passed through all the stages of their lustration and have reached the bourne of their purification by absorption into the Brahma (not the Godhead of the Trimúrti).

There is something touching in the sight of the Emperor of Hindústán, one of the mightiest of the earth, thus seeking after truth and unweariedly pressing on along the thorny road to knowledge. At Nausárí, in Gujrát lived descendants of Persian refugees, followers of Zoroaster, who had fled their country on account of their faith and had found a new home in India. They were known as Párśís * and practised fire-worship. Some of their priests were summoned to Síkrí by the Emperor and there acquainted him with their creed.

A more accurate knowledge of the early history of the Islám, of the thousand stories and anecdotes current concerning the prophet, of the attacks of the Shias upon the first three Khalífas whom they do not recognise, Abú Bekr, Omar and Othmán, afforded to Akbar further insight into the internal laceration of the state religion, and this insight was deepened by the revolting scenes which resulted from the incapacity of the 'Ulamá to bridle their passion for wrangling.

* Párśis—"Although especially applied to them as followers of a peculiar faith, the term properly signifies nothing more than a Persian." Wilson. (Trs.)

During the period of the religious discussions a fashion had been introduced of stamping coins, decrees, &c., with the words "Alláhu Akbar" which might be pleasing to the Emperor on account of their double meaning,—"God is Great" and "Akbar is God." Some time in 1575-76 Akbar asked the 'Ulamá their opinion about the use of this new motto; all expressed approval with the exception of the Hájí Ibráhím who pointed out the ambiguity of its meaning; his scruples roused the Emperor's displeasure. The incumbents of the highest theological offices, the Makhdúm-ul-Mulk and 'Abdunnabí, the Chief Justice entered upon a violent controversy with one another. The first made public a venomous diatribe against the second in which he accused him of many acts of oppression, asserted his incompetence to direct matters connected with religion and invoked all ecclesiastical anathemas upon his head. 'Abdunnabí repaid the attack with interest, rebuking his opponent for a fool and handing him over to perdition. The dissident 'Ulamá shouted their encouragement on one side or the other and split their forces into two great camps,—a shattering of their fighting powers which was a further step to destruction for thereafter they could never more oppose an unbroken front to their common enemy. The Shias rejoiced in these dissensions, and satires and pamphlets against the state theologians passed from hand to hand. Willingly enough did Akbar listen to the whistling of the sharp arrows which the satirists let fly against the 'Ulamá cliqtie, from bows which were never unbent; and he promoted to higher office the more liberal-minded of the clerical order.

As the unworthiness of the priestly caste grew more apparent to the Emperor it became repugnant to him

to leave the spiritual guidance of his people in the hands of such men, place-hunters, bigots and hard-hearted hypocrites.

The earliest mention of the presence of Christian priests at Akbar's Court occurs in 1578, when an embassy from the Viceroy of the Indian possessions of Portugal visited Fathpúr Síkrí under the conduct of Antonio Cabral. Akbar was attracted by their manners and by means of an interpreter held animated conversations with them about Europe and her modes of Government; he moreover expressed the utmost desire to become better acquainted with the Catholic creed. Goa was a seat of the Jesuit order which sent Missionaries throughout India; it had already come to Akbar's knowledge that two of these had laboured in Bengal since 1576. He invited one to court in 1578 and took pleasure in his dexterity in argument and in his frequent victories, in wordy war, over the 'Ulamás. Akbar expressed a wish to study Portuguese, learned to pronounce in it the name of Jesus and repeated it frequently. This visit led to a subsequent citation of Jesuits from Goa to Hindústán, the details of which will be narrated later.

986.

983.

In his preface to the A'in Abul Fazl says :* "Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light *farr-i-izidí* (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyán khwarah* (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of

* Blochmann l. c. p. III.

any one, and men in the presenceof it, bend the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission. Many excellent qualities flow from the possession of this light... thousands find rest in the love of the king, and sectarian differences do not raise the dust of strife. In his wisdom, the king will understand the spirit of the age, and shape his plans accordingly ..... when he performs an action, he considers God as the real doer of it."

Abul Fazl persuaded Akbar of the lawfulness of sovereignty by the grace of God. Shaikh Mubárak pointed out to him that it was only necessary for him to be declared Mujtahid, "the infallible authority in matters of belief," in order to deprive other authorities of the right of exposition of the law and to vest it in himself. Hitherto the office of the Mujtahid had belonged to the 'Ulamá; from the time that Akbar assumed it the holder of the supreme temporal power was to be indued with the highest spiritual functions likewise. To attain this bifurcate authority it was requisite to manipulate the Qorán and the hadís (spoken injunctions of the Prophet) so adroitly that they should be made to declare the temporal prince superior to the head of the church, and this in such fashion that the power of the last should appear as the issue of the will of the first. With this aim in view, a decree was published in the latter days of August or beginning of September 1579 which was signed by Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, by the Çadr Jahán, the Qází Jaláluddín and the leaders of the 'Ulamá, the Makhdúm-ul-Mulk and Ghází Khán as well as by the instigator of the whole proceeding, Shaikh Mubárak. While the others signed only under compulsion, he added at the bottom that he had most willingly

Rajab. 987.

signed his name for this was a matter which for several years he had been anxiously looking forward to. Further he did not omit to write out the cherished document with his own hand. It runs as follows: "Whereas Hindústán has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal 'Ulamá, who are not only well versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence,* and well-acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, first, of the verse of the Qorán (Sur. IV, 62.) 'Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you,' and secondly, of the genuine tradition, 'surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment, is the Imám-i-Adil:* Whosoever obeys the Amír,† obeys Me; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Me,' and thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony; and we have agreed that rank of a Sultán-i-Adíl (a just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujtahid. Further we declare that the king of the Islám, Amír of the faithful, shadow of God in the world, Abul Fath Jaláluddin Muhammad Akbar Pádsháh-i-ghází, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should, therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and

* Literally "the righteous Imám."

† Temporal Suzerain.

His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

Further we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qorán, but also of real benefit for the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this life.

This document has been written by us with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of the Islám, and is signed by us, the principal 'Ulama and lawyers, in the month of Rajab of the year 987 of the Hijrah."*

The above decree conferred on the emperor the spiritual headship of his empire, its importance is however not to be exaggerated, although it actually invests the emperor with powers of a Judge of final appeal. Its real value lies in its manifestation of the weakness of the 'Ulama who could thus allow the weapon of the Mujtahid to be wrested from their hands. The decree was indeed their funeral oration.

Attentive perusal reveals unmistakeably the scorn and contempt which it pours upon the priestly caste. Truly the 'Ulama must have abnegated their convictions before they could describe Akbar the "heretic,"

* Blochmann l. c. p. 186-7, Rehatsek l. c. p. 31-2.

as the most Muhammedan of kings! From the date of the publication of the decree the breach between them and the emperor was irremediable. One blow followed on another until the proud structure of ecclesiastical ascendency fell battered to ruin. A short time before the publication Akbar announced his approaching accession of honour by mounting the pulpit of the Jamí Masjid of Fathpúr, on Friday the 26th of June 1579 and reciting from it the *Khutbah*. Badáoní says the emperor became embarrassed and stammered so that he was unable to finish reciting the poem which Faizi had composed for the occasion, and was compelled to hand over the duties to the officiating priest. The verses have been preserved and are as follows :

1 Jumáda-l awwal 987 H.

> "The Lord has given me the empire,
> "And a wise heart, and a strong arm,
> "He has guided me in righteousness and justice,
> "And has removed from my thoughts everything but justice :
> "His praise surpasses man's understanding,
> "Great is his power, Alláhu Akbar."

In truth the concluding words cannot but have been an abomination to the pious.

The emperor's regularity in performing the pious duty of pilgrimage has already been mentioned ; on the 7th September 1579 he as usual, undertook one to Ajmír but this was in the eyes of the strict believers a mere empty form. With scathing scorn Badáoní writes of infidels who yet dismounted at a distance of five kos from Ajmír and entered the place on foot. In the course of the same year, Akbar's most zealous and formidable adversaries, the Makhdúm ul Mulk and Shaikh 'Abdunnabí were sent into banishment. The emperor counselled them to gratify their long-cherished wish to perform a pilgrim-

15 Rajab 987 H.

age to Mekka, a species of exile much in favour at the mughul court. To Shaikh 'Abdunnabí were entrusted large sums of money for distribution to the poor of the holy city. By this departure of their leaders the 'Ulamá was left without guidance, and the deserted ranks fell into the utmost confusion. Sultán Khwájah Naqshbandí was appointed Çadr Jahán in place of 'Abdunnabí.

The war of annihilation against the supremacy of the Islám was now waged openly. Muhammadanism was no longer to remain the State religion, on the contrary all priority in matters of faith was to disappear. Akbar's dislike of everything Arabian blazed up: "he despised," says Bádaoní, "the ordinances of the Qorân as opposed to reason and as being modern, and their founder as one of those poor Arabs, whom he called malefactors and brigands." Names such as Muḥammad and Ahmad were either concealed or changed by their owners. Akbar asserted that the Qorán was a created work, a statement which called down a storm of indignation from the orthodox who believe that it has existed from eternity. He cast doubt upon the prophesies of Muhammad, denied the existence of angels and genii, and no longer recognised the miracles of the Prophet. He and his adherents advocated metempsychosis * as the true conception of the future of the soul after death, and they denied every other form of immortality. It is worthy of note that Akbar rejected the notions current as to rewards and punishments in the next world and regarded as valid only the doctrine of purification by transmigration (page 314), an evidence of deeper moral intuition in the great king who thus rejected the huckstering ethical

* So, too, Lessing maintained the possibility of this doctrine which appears under the most manifold forms. See also Goldstücker l. c. vol. I. p. 205 et seq.

bargain which two hundred years after his time was annihilated by the criticism of the sage of Königsberg.†

One of Akbar's innovations was the prohibition of the use of the formula, "There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his prophet," and the substitution of the words, "There is no God but God, and Akbar is his vicegerent." This change was another blow dealt at the Islám; there was reason to fear that the new formula might excite discontent among the superstitious masses of the people, its use was therefore restricted to the palace. Now too the chroniclers who had adopted Akbar's tenets began their pages with the oftrepeated "Alláhu Akbar" instead of with the time-honoured "Bísmillah."—"In the name of God."

Rájá Bír Bar was one of the wittiest and most active of the emperor's disciples (page 145). He attacked the imperfections of the Islám with unsparing severity and his consequence as an adversary is attested by the execrations of the bigots against him as "that hell-hound" and "bastard" as well as by their truly characteristic satisfaction in his death. He was not content with deriding the rigidly-orthodox among the moslims, he poured the caustic humour of his irony also over the ossified dogmatism of the bráhmans. He was an oriental liberal of genuine stamp and equally ready for a polemical discussion and a trial of skill upon the lute. The old-fashioned warriors such as Shahbáz Khán remained true to their faith and declined Akbar's invitation to desert the "hypocrisy of the true religion." On one occasion, Shahbáz Khán ventured to engage with Bír Bar in a bout of argument and as the sturdy,

† See the acute amplifications of E. V. Hartmann, Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins vol. I.: Die transcendente positiv-eudämonistische Moral, p. 24 et seq. and esp. from p. 27 on wards.

bearded brave was less apt in speech than with his good sword, he was worsted and broke forth, "you cursed infidel! do you talk in this manner. "It would "not take me long to settle you." It got quite uncom- "fortable, when his Majesty said to Shahbáz in particular, "and the others in general, "would that a shoe-full of "excrement were thrown in your faces!" (Badáoní.)

Qází Alí Baghádí and other impartial men were selected to examine the claims of holders of sayúrgháls. About this time, as will be narrated in the following chapter, there arose discontent among the grandees of Jaunpúr concerning the practice of the *dágh*, and this discontent was fomented by the clerical party. As a consequence of their share in the disturbances, the priestly ringleaders, Muhammed Yezdí and Mír Múizz-ul-Mulk, were ordered to appear at the court. Complying with this command they started for the capital; they had reached Fírozábád, about 18 kos from Agra, when a royal order arrived that they were to be separated from their following and conveyed across the Jamná by boat and taken towards Gwáliár. Immediately upon this came a third order to the effect that their attendants were to be shipped in one boat and they in another, which had been made to leak for the purpose of drowning them. The same course was commanded in the case of Qází Yá'qúb, who quitted Bengal a few days later. "In such fashion," says Badáoní, "did His Majesty promote to the prison of non-existence one after another the 'Ulamá who were suspected of high treason; he sent the 'Ulamá of Láhor also into banishment and scattered them like the pearls of a broken chaplet." The Muntakhab ut Tawáríkh recounts the names of many ecclesiastics who suffered

in life or property at the hands of the emperor. At first sight such a course of action may seem despotic, but it is to be borne in mind that in these men Akbar must have seen not so much theological opponents as rebels and traitors for whose crimes death was the ordinary punishment. That he was not incited by fanaticism is evidenced by his lenient treatment of the heads of the orthodox party. Even if a few did perish, still it is nothing to the hundreds of thousands whose blood has been shed in the so-called religious wars.

A large proportion of the ecclesiastical properties were resumed and the rich prebends were turned to better uses by being divided among the deserving poor and among genuine scholars.* By these measures the ground was cut from under the feet of this priestly corporation, which was inimical at once to the State and to intellectual enlightenment. Its heads were dead or living in exile; its rich revenues, drawn from pious foundations and rent-free tenures, were greatly curtailed; the emperor had broken with its members, had annihilated their authority and had smoothed the path of free inquiry. He was environed by men of the most widely divergent opinions; he had abolished the capitation tax (page 275) and Hindús, Shias and Súfís filled offices and administered great mançabs. The State church in fact existed no longer: all forms of worship were permitted. Badáoní does not exaggerate when he says that the mosques stood empty and were transformed into store-houses, granaries, stables,

* The distinguished historian of the Islám I A. V. Kremer has overlooked this and it should be added as supplement to the case cited from an earlier period, in Note 3, which is appended to his statement that such confiscations from the "dead hand" first occur in the most modern times. Herrschende Ideen, etc., p. 434.

&c. His statements are corroborated by trustworthy observers.* He thus utters his lament† :—

"The 'Ulamá avoid the schools as they avoid taverns in the fasting month of Ramazán,

"The Qorán wanders as a pledge to the pawnbrokers,

"The desk of the teacher has become a dice table."

At this time by Akbar's invitation Jesuits from Goa first came to Fathpúr. By good fortune the detailed narrative of Du Jarric exists, so that it is possible to obtain a clear impression of their doings at the court of the great emperor.

Their historian has also exposed the plans and projects of the subtle Fathers with child-like frankness. Du Jarric has preserved the letters of invitation written by Akbar to the Provincial in Goa. The first of these runs as follow‡ :—

"Firman of Jaláluddín Muhammad Akbar.§

"Honourable Fathers of the Order of St. Paul,

"I convey to you the information that as I am well "disposed towards you, I send to you my emissary, "Abdullah, and his interpreter, Domingo Perez, with the "request that you will send to me two padres who are "conversant with the Scriptures and who shall bring "with them the principal works on your faith and "the Gospels, because I have a great desire to study this "faith and its perfections. I beg that they will not neg-"lect to accompany these messengers as soon as they

* Du Jarric, l. c. p. 660.

† Rehatsek, l. c. p. 36.

‡ Du Jarric, l. c. p. 614.

§ The original stands thus: Forman Zelabdin Mahemet Echebar. Throughout Du Jarric the oriental names are distorted in a manner almost inconceivable.

"shall arrive, for I herewith let you know that the "Fathers who comehere shall be received with all honour. "It will afford me special gratification to see them. "When they have instructed me as I wish, if they "desire to return to their homes, they will be allowed "to do so whenever it shall seem good to them: I will "send them back with distinction and honour. They "can come without apprehension, for I take them under "my personal protection."

The importance of this invitation was obvious to the Provincial, and in the hope of augmenting the power of his order by the conversion of the Emperor of Hindústán, he selected three capable and cultivated men as the apostles of his church. They were Fathers Rídolfo Aquaviva, son of the Duke of Atri (the padre Radalf of the Muhammadan writers), nephew of Claude Aquaviva the second founder of the Jesuit order, Antonio de Montserrat and Francisco Enriques. After a laborious journey of 43 days they reached Fathpúr on the 18th February 1580. Their reception was in the highest degree friendly, and their gifts were graciously accepted, among which were a good edition of the Bible and pictures of Christ and the Virgin. Accommodation was before long allotted to them in the precincts of the palace, so that their intercourse with the emperor might be as unhampered as possible.

The Thursday discussions now offered the attractive spectacle of a council at which almost all the religions of the world were represented.* The padres fought

* It is still an open question whether Buddhists took part. Abul Fazl (Chalmers l. c. vol. II 234, and Elliot, vol. VI p. 59), state that Buddhists frequented the Ibádat Khána: both translations agree in their versions of the passage. Bádáoní moreover names, besides the Brahmans with whom Akbar had relations, persons whom Rehatsek reads as *Samanyahs*

for their cause with the surpassing weapons of subtlety and scholastic learning, and Du Jarric records with manifest satisfaction that the moslim theologians could find no sufficient reply. In these arguments may be traced another instance of the irony of history : in the Pyreneean peninsula, moslim Moors had cultivated the sciences to their prime and among them Aristotelian dialectic ; their Christian successors had entered upon their splendid heritage and now, in Hindústán, wielded against believers in the Qorán the arms forged to their hands by Spanish moslims. "These accursed monks "applied the description of cursed Satan and of his quali- "ties to Muhammad, the best of all prophets. God's "blessings rest on him and his whole house ; a thing "which even devils would not do." (Bádaoní.) The consternation of the bigots reached its height when Akbar in public conference praised many of the Christian doctrines and when he entrusted his second son Murád, then a boy of eight, to the Jesuits that he might be taught to read and write Portuguese and become acquainted with the Christian creed. In place of the time-honoured "Bismil-

(p. 20) and Blochmann *Sumanis* (l. c. p. 179) Rehatsek and Max Müller, l. c. (in a remark on Note I. p. 90) incline with more or less agreement to see in this word a corrupt form of Sramana, religious mendicant. This word however is specially applied to Buddhist religionists (see Wilson l. c. p. 489 and Koppen's Religion of Buddha p. 130 Note I ; also Max Müller l. c. p. 246). Blochmann states that the Arabic dictionaries designate by it a sect resident in Siud which believes in metempsychosis. This may be so. Metempsychosis belongs also to the teaching of Buddha Sákyamuni.

A modification is required in Max Müller's statement (p. 24), that Abul Fazl could have had no one to aid him, in his researches into Buddhism (Seep. 33 Note 3.) It is indisputable that Thibetans came to Fathpúr Síkrí. (See Rehatsek, p. 20 Note 3.) Another fact will be subsequently cited in confirmation of this. (Blochmann, p. 201.) From these facts it may be concluded with a not too slight probability that there were Buddhists at Fathpúr, at least temporarily, at the time of the religious controversies, and that directly or indirectly some elements of their creed were received by Akbar.

láh," the prince was taught to begin his lessons with the words "Ai nám í tu Jesus o Kiristo," i. e., "O thou whose names are Jesus and Christ."*

The Fathers had built a small chapel for their own use and that of the Portuguese traders and residents "in Agra and its neighbourhood. "Thither† came "Akbar, alone, without attendants, removed his turban "and offered prayers, after he had first knelt in the "fashion of Christians, then in his own, that is according "to the mode used by Persian Saracens, (for he clung "to the externals of this faith) and finally after the "fashion of the heathen." This anecdote runs too well with the emperor's tendencies for it to be a fiction. He compelled his courtiers to treat the priests, their sacred pictures, and their religious services with reverence. He permitted the ceremonious public interment of a Portuguese Christian, and the Jesuits conducted in all pomp a catholic funeral procession through the streets of Fathpúr. The inhabitants, Moslim and Hindú, were pleased by its pageantry and participated in the ceremony. Moreover the Fathers were allowed to build a hospital, the motive of which institution is thus stated by Du Jarric, "Because it had been found in many places "that many heathen and Muhammedans are disposed to "the acceptance of the Christian religion by the sight of "a work of mercy."

When the Jesuits had sufficiently examined the ground they began to put their designs into practice.

* Blochmann, 183; see also Elliot.

† Blochmann l. c. p. 183, Rehatsek, p. 25. Du Jarric relates that Akbar came one day at the time of the lesson, when the Fathers had given the boy a writing-copy. This began with the words: "In the name of God." The emperor at once ordered that these words should be added: "And of Jesus Christ, the true prophet and Son of God."

They urged Akbar to win for himself the glory of a new hero in religion by a formal adhesion to the Christian church, but their attempt was frustrated like all other such by Akbar's immoveable firmness. He assured the Fathers that he had sincere respect for them and that he comprehended and honoured many of their doctrines: still he asked that they should explain to him the mystery of the Trinity and how it could be that God could have a son who became a man. "The heathen," "said he, believe their "creed true, the moslims also, and so too the Christians: "whom then shall we believe?" The explanations of the holy Fathers cannot have satisfied the sharp-witted Pádsháh, for he was never persuaded to baptism. Du Jarric bewails with bitterness the emperor's stiffneckedness and says that his restless understanding would never let him rest content with one answer but drove him ever to further inquiries. "This," he remarks, "is "the peccadillo of this prince as of many another "atheist; they will not shackle reason by obedience to "faith, because they think nothing true which does not "enter into the circle of their powers of comprehension; "with the measure of their intellect they would mete "out the infinite, which transcends all human under-"standing." When Aquaviva asked permission for the three* missionaries then at court to preach Christianity in all his kingdoms and provinces, Akbar answered evasively that this whole matter was in the hands of God, who had it in His power to fulfil their wishes, and that for his part he desired nothing more ardently. Leaving out of consideration the last dubious phrase, it is clear from this reply that Akbar was not disposed,

* Du Jarric, pp. 621-2.

having set as a personal aim the introduction of the completest religious freedom, to permit Christian missionaries to work among his subjects. He would have every one saved in the fashion each preferred, and he was suspicious of the procedure of these Jesuits. It may be that he had heard something of the Inquisition.* The last of the Moors were not expelled from Spain until 1492, and wherever Christianity had obtained dominion it had attacked and oppressed other creeds. Akbar fully understood the Jesuits who "for the greater glory of God" laboured actively and with success to extend their own power. To these considerations others must be added which follow from the history of his whole intellectual development. He placed dogmatic perceptions in the balance of impartial critical judgment, and it was his experience that the majority were tossed upwards as too light. His thoughts wrenched themselves more and more from the trammels of dogmatic opinion and aspired to fashion from more stable elements a new structure and to establish a theory of the universe which should be founded on reason. He nevertheless commanded that no molestation should be offered to such as might wish to become Christians. The aim of the Jesuit mission—the conversion of Akbar,—having failed, the Fathers returned to Goa in 1582 with the exception of Aquaviva, who was detained partly by force for sometime longer. Aquaviva must have been a man of great intellectual gifts, an entertaining companion, and an enthusiastic visionary Akbar held him in high esteem

* See "The history of the Inquisition as it is exercised at Goa, giving an account of the horrid cruelties which are exercised therein, written, etc. by Dellon, translated into English, London, 1688."

and did all in his power to alleviate his detention. He was a rigorous ascetic, possessed by the sanctity of his calling and honoured alike by Hindús and Moslims, by whom he was spoken of as "an angel."* He acquired the Persian language to facilitate discussion with Muhammedans and to win Akbar for his church by impressive words spoken without the mediation of an interpreter. All was in vain: he perceived that it was lost labour to scatter seed upon a field so unfruitful.

Some eight years after Aquaviva's departure from Fathpúr, somewhere about 1591, a second embassy went again by invitation from Goa to Láhor, where the court was then resident; it consisted of Edward Leioton, Christopher de Vega and a layman: it also failed in its object, but founded a school for the instruction in Portuguese of the royal princes and the children of the nobility.

999.

The third and last Jesuit mission betook itself to Láhor in response to a most amiable letter from the emperor. The Provincial had by this time certainly seen the impossibility of converting Akbar, but he acted in obedience to the General of the Order, who wished that "at the court of a ruler such as Akbar, there "should be a resident Father as well for the assistance of "Christian residents as for several other reasons." It was deemed advisable to have political agents at the Mughal court as at others, and they made observations and gave timely hints to their order with surprising insight.†

* At his departure from Fathpúr, he achieved the freedom of a family of Russian Christians, who were in the service of the emperor's mother, and who returned with him to Goa. He declined all other gifts. *Rara avis!* Du Jarric, p. 638.

† An excellent report (anonymous), dated from Goa, November 26th 1582, is in my hands; it describes the state of things at Akbar's court and

The worthy Padre Jerome Xavier, a Navarrese, was now despatched, and with him as coadjutors went two Portuguese, Emmanuel Pignero and Benedict of Goes; their guide was an Armenian who had before accompanied Aquaviva. They left Goa on the 3rd December 1594 and on the 5th May 1595 reached Láhor after many hardships and adventures, amongst which which last may be mentioned their reconversion to Christianity in Cambay of a Portuguese who had become a jogí, (religious mendicant). Gracious was their reception from Akbar, who gave them permission to build a church at Láhor and to baptise in Cambay. He urged them to promote public instruction, he respected their ritual, took part in their services, and presented them with valuable Christian books from his library, but he never allowed himself to be converted to their faith. He made use of the learned Fathers to create for himself and those about him a clear impression of Western life, and above all he acquired from them for his own purposes the truths of Christianity. It must be remembered that these humane proceedings were initiated in the 16th century and that Akbar occupied a point of view which succeeding centuries did not take up. Universal toleration was his motto.* He was one of those who are too

30 Rabi'-ul-awwal 1003.

is a copy from the Spanish archives obtained by the good offices of Don Pascual de Gayangos. This communication may comfort Mr. Markham and contradict the remark which he makes concerning the loss of his copy. "The loss is irremediable." (Life of Akbar, Introductory to Markham's Translation of Limburg-Brouwer's Akbar, p XXXI, note I.) The missing narrative is, moreover, often *literatim*, reproduced in Du Jarric, ps. 599—610.

32. At this time religious controversies were being fought out in Europe on fields of blood. (St. Bartholomew's Night, August 24-5, 1572: trials of witchcraft, etc., etc.) The Jews were fined, plundered, cooped up in Ghetti, and burned. Proceedings against doubters were summary in the extreme; e.g., Oct. 27th, 1553, Michael Servet us was burned at Geneva; in

religious to profess any form of creed and too positive in intellect to conform to a positive belief. Akbar fought the crowd of doubts which throng into every open and reflecting mind. He pressed constantly forward and tried to raise the veil which parts the domain of experience from that which is beyond, whether the Beyond be the All or the Nothing. The history of the youth of Säis is lived again by every man who has tasted the pangs of desire after faith and of incapacity to believe. What outcome have such pangs? One man sinks into the dead stupor of acquiescence, another becomes sceptic and materialistic, a third climbs the dizzy heights of mystical contemplation, while the speculation of another devises a theory of existence in which, in whatever fashion, faith and reason shall be reconciled. The realm of faith begins on the confines of reason: these two, faith and reason, are the two poles of human thought and work with greater or less potency according to the idiosyncrasies of men. When Akbar had formed the opinion that all creeds are the historical witness of regular development; that each testifies to a step in civilization taken in obedience to law; that each is, like civilization, capable of infinite progress; that the essential element is unvaryingly present in all creeds, although it appears under the most diverse forms; he was irresistibly impelled to the conclusion that all creeds have equal rights, and that it is fitting to give preference to none.* Holding opinions such as these he could not be a zealot, and under their influence

1599, Thomas Campanella was imprisoned by the Spaniards and kept 26 years in confinement: Feb. 17th, 1600, Giordano Bruno was burned in Rome for heresy: Feb. 19th, 1619, Luciolo Vanini was decapitated.

* See for fine thoughts on the general subject of religion, a small publication by Graf A. v. Prokesch-Osten, vol. V, Stuttgart 1845, p. 55 et seq.

he bent his faculties to bring intellectual culture to blossom in his realms, to establish complete religious tolerance, and to give evenhanded justice to all men and all creeds. As a means to these ends the annihilation of the supremacy of the Islám and inexorable severity against the hegemony of the Ulamá were imperative in order to enable all creeds to stand on the same level and to assure one against the persecutions of others. When he had broken down the theological barriers which had segregated the peoples of India into so many hostile camps, he conferred on his subjects with with the most complete tolèrance in matters of belief, absolute political equality without regard to race or creed.

Meantime the millenium was rapidly drawing to a close. The more precise accounts of the discovery of America, the appearance of the comet of 1577 (page 261), the manifold disorder in countries adjacent to Hindústán, all strengthened the faithful in their expectation of the Imám Mahdí who was to come with Christ and to reform the Islám. The rumours which had been current long before, that Akbar had founded a new religion, gained groundin 1580.

985.

In truth, the powerful impulses which dominated him conceded no rest. To satisfy his needs he was impelled to create a purified conception of Deity, being moved to the effort by the well-known fact of consciousness that emotions of faith stir the soul and that knowledge cannot still the troubled tide of feeling which obscurely but unswervingly gropes after a higher life. Friends and counsellors shared in his task, and in this manner arose spontaneously a party or sect. The new religion was called the Dín Ilahí,—"the Divine Faith," and there

988.

gradually accreted to it a compact brotherhood of adherents. There were four stages of noviciate: the emperor, as God's vicegerent and as grand master of the order required from the "ilahís" readiness to sacrifice for him their possessions, their life, their honour, and their former faith. The ceremony of initiation was as follows: "The novice with his turban in his hands puts his head on the feet of His Majesty. This is symbolical, and expresses that the novice, guided by good fortune and the assistance of his good star, has cast aside conceit and selfishness, the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to enquire as to the means of obtaining everlasting life. His Majesty, the chosen one of God, then stretches out the hand of favour, raises up the suppliant, and replaces the turban on his head, meaning by these symbolical actions that he has raised up a man of pure intentions, who from seeming existence has now entered into real life. His Majesty then gives the novice the Shaçt,* upon which is engraved the "great name"† and His Majesty's symbolical motto "Alláhu Akbar." Abul Fazl mentions some of the rules of the new code. Members of the Din Ilahí were not to greet one another in Mussulman fashion; one was to say, "Alláhu Akbar," and the other to rejoin "Jalla Jaláluhu;" they were to abstain as much as possible from eating flesh, etc.

Sun-worship was introduced, at the suggestion of Bír Bar in 1579, and Abul Fazl was made superintendent of the fire temple. In

987.

* Perhaps a ring or the likeness of the emperor worn by the members on the turban. Blochmann, l. c. p. 166. Note I.

† The more solemn name of God.

the beginning of the 25th year of his reign, Akbar worshipped the sun in the presence of the people. On one occasion he and his disciples appeared with the brahmanical symbol on their foreheads and wearing the sacred thread*—zinár—(p. 174). In 1582 the era of the Hijrah was abruptly brought to a close and the new era was established, dating from the time of Akbar's accession (1556). † A command was issued that a history of the Islám should be written, the well-known "Táríkhi Alfi," the "History of the Millennium." The sijdah, the old Persian proskunesis, was prescribed as being proper to use before kings; it was introduced by Qází Nizám Ghází Khán i Badakhshí and excited great opposition because it is unlawful for Moslims to prostrate themselves except before God. When however the less offensive name of "zamínbos" (kissing the ground) was substituted for *sijdah*, even zealots as fanatical as Badáoní performed the ceremony. The use of wine for the purpose of giving strength to the body was permitted. Akbar caused a wine-shop to be opened near the palace, placing it under supervision to prevent excesses and inflicted severe punishments upon drunkards.

990.

963.

The price of the wine was fixed and every sick person was able to purchase the forbidden drink upon communicating to the clerk in charge his own name and those of his father and grandfather. "Of course," remarks Badáoní, "people sent in fictitious names, and got supplies of wine; for who could strictly enquire

* Súfís also were acquainted with the *zinár*, which represented to them the striving after God. Palmer l. c. p. 75.

† Blochmann, l. c. 195.

into such a matter? It was in fact nothing else but a licensed shop for drunkards." "Some people," he continues in pious horror, "even said that pork formed a component part of this wine!"

It was at this epoch that the quarter of "Shaitán-púrah" was assigned (p. 295 n.) and the imperial displeasure threatened various grandees, among whom was the jovial Bír Bar on account of certain offences against the moral laws of the Dín i Iháhí*, but they obtained pardon. It became the custom to wear amulets (rákhí): the eating of beef was prohibited: pious moslims were forced to shave off their beards: the sound of Christian bells was of daily occurrence: swine and dogs were no longer held unclean but were kept within the palace precincts; indeed Badáoní cuttingly says that it was considered a religious exercise to visit them daily. Akbar arranged boar fights and had the teeth of the slaughtered animals set in gold.†

Written formularies of admission to the new church were put into circulation. They ran as follows: "I, A. B., son of C. D., have willingly and cheerfully renounced and rejected the Islám in all its phases, whether low or high, as I have witnessed it in my ancestors, and have joined the Divine Faith of Sháh Akbar, and declare myself willing to sacrifice to him my property

* Blochmann, l. c. p. 191, Rehatsek, p. 44, et. sq.

† Du Jarric, p. 661. Akbar always liked such grotesque amusements. Abul Fazl relates that he set frogs to fight with sparrows, and spiders with one another. (Blochmann, l. c. p. 296.) In a note on the same page, Blochmann thanks Abul Fazl for recording something of Akbar which cannot be ascribed to "higher motives:" in this the great critic has taken a somewhat narrow view; at any rate Akbar is not alone, for Colerus specially mentions of Spinoza that he caused spiders to fight together. B. Auerbach puts a more profound construction on this fact in "Spinoza ein Denkerleben," p. 316, et sq.

and life, my honour and religion." These papers when filled up were handed over to the Mujtahid of the new creed, and carefully preserved.

Other innovations were as follows: certain ceremonial ablutions were prohibited; permission to eat the flesh of wild boars and of tigers was given; the marriage of near relatives, such as cousins was forbidden; boys were not to marry before their 16th and girls before their 14th year. The last-named was an extraordinary innovation in the East, and the reason assigned for its institution was that the offspring of premature marriages was usually feeble.* At the time of their devotional exercises, moslims were accustomed to lay aside all ornament, now it was no longer prohibited to wear silken garments or jewels at the time of prayer. Muhammadan prayers, the azān or call to prayer, and pilgrimages were interdicted. The old Persian names of the months, the solar year of the ancient Iranians and the 14 sacred festivals of the Pársís were adopted, while "the feasts of the Muhammadans "and their glory were trodden down, the Friday's prayer being alone retained because some old decrepit silly people used to go to it." (Bl. 195.) The study of Arabic was forbidden. On the other hand, "astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history, and novels were cultivated and thought necessary." (Bl. 195.) The Prophet was openly reviled and the legends and tales which the orthodox accepted on faith found inexorable judges. Strict qázís and 'ulamá were seduced by Akbar to take part in a banquet at the feast of the New Year.

* Polak, Persia, Leipzig, 1865, p. 194 et sq.

The Makhdúm ul Mulk and 'Abdunnabí returned
990. from Mekka; the first died in 1582 at Ahmadábád, and the overgrown possessions which he had acquired by wringing oppression were confiscated. 'Abdunnabí made his appearance at Fathpúr and there yielded to his impulse to invective; the emperor boiling over with rage dealt him a blow in the face, whereupon he cried out "Why not strike me with the sword?" Todar Mall was commissioned to obtain from him an account of a sum of 70,000 rupis which had been entrusted to him for the poor of Mekka; he was imprisoned and strangled by some one or other
992. in 1584. (p. 256 n.) The audacious Shaikh Mubárak now began a sharp criticism on the text of the Qorán* and expressed to Bír Bar the opinion that it, like the sacred writings of the Hindús, must have been subjected to alteration.
993. On the death of Sultán Khwájah in 1585 a member of the Dín i Iláhí, Mir Fathullah of Shiráz was appointed the Çadr i Jahán. He was a man of brilliant intellect and intimately acquainted with the exact sciences, but the bigots could certainly not have taken pleasure in the sight of the new Çadr "tramping through the country like a courier" with his gun on his shoulder and his powder-horn at his belt. "He was a champion of the new dispensation, headstrong as any Rustum." Badáoní gives most interesting information as to Akbar's method of criticising miracles. Concerning Muhammed's journey to heaven, the emperor inquired how it was possible that a man should ascend into heaven, have there a conversa-

* His chief work was a commentary on the Qoran in four volumes, under the title of Manba'ul-'uyún Blochmann l. c. p. 490.

tion of 90,000 words with God, and return to find his bed still warm.*

Translations from the Sanscrit which had been commenced in 1573 were still actively carried on; Atharvaveda, Rámáyana, the Mahábhárata, Lílavatí and the history of Kashmír were translated into Persian; Badáoní received the, to him, very unpleasant order to take part in this work.

The Hinduising of Akbar and of his associates became more and more perceptible. In 1583 the slaughter of animals was prohibited on Sundays because that day is sacred to the sun, during the first 18 days of the month Farwardín (February-March) the first month of Akbar's new year, during the whole of Abán (October,) the month of the emperor's birth, and at some other times in order to win still more the favour of the Hindús. 91.

Akbar adopted woollen clothing such as was used by the Súfís, wearing a garment of a different colour on each day through the week; during more than half a year he abstained from meat and every year increased the period of abstention (Sufiyánah).†

In the morning, at mid-day, at sunset and at midnight prayers to the sun were enjoined. A Pársí priest (Ardsher) had been brought at great expense from Persia to instruct the emperor in the rites of his creed. Since the year 1580, the 988.

* Rehatsek l. c., p. 64.

† Badáoní, (Blochmann p. 201) expressly says, that he did this in imitation of Tibetan Lamas or Mongolian zealots; for this reason he frequented his harem less, and lived mainly on a vegetable diet. He also wore the tonsure.;—an open, historically attested imitation of Buddhist custom, and which confirms the remarks in the note to pp. 326-27. "See Koppen's Religion of Buddha, p. 332 and Die Lamaische Hierarchie," p. 265.

courtiers had been made to rise when the lights were brought into the palace. In 1583 Sanscrit names for the sun to the number of 1001 were collected and their recitation was advised as a religious exercise. The emperor repeated them with aid from a bráhman every morning at sunrise, when he also showed himself to the thickly crowding populace who prostrated themselves at his appearance. Akbar had much intercourse with jogís who boast the possession of magic arts. Many of Badáoní's anecdotes show that the emperor was not ignorant of the rascality of these jugglers and that he saw through their impostures. He exposed the cheating of these oriental nomads and amused himself by the thousand sleights of their ready fingers. Badáoní states that he practised alchemy and that he exhibited gold which he had made by artificial means.

991.

In 1585 thousands of disciples joined the Dín i Iláhí. On this subject the pessimist opinion of the eastern Procopius may be well-founded; he says that the majority of the new adherents were not converts by conviction but by personal interest. Members of the new church occupied the highest offices and in spite of Akbar's representation to his novices that every selfish aim is ignoble, assuredly the prospect of promotion had disposed many to conversion. The reverence testified to the emperor became continually more profound; the bráhman urged upon him the theory that he was an avatár—an incarnation of deity. One innovation followed another; after 1587 none of Akbar's followers were permitted to marry more than one wife except in the case of barrenness. The re-marriage of widows was allowed.

994.

995-6.

The dead were to be buried with their heads to the east and their feet to the west, a direct affront to mu. custom which enjoins moslims in India to turn in praying towards the west as being the direction of Mecca. In 1590 the use of the flesh of buffalos, sheep, horses, and camels was forbidden. In 1583 the practice of widow-burning—*sati* * had been so far restricted that it was permitted only on the widow's declaration of voluntary performance and of absence of compulsion.† Now this restriction was withdrawn as of possible offence to Hindús. Circumcision before the twelfth year was prohibited, and permitted then, only with the boy's consent. No member of the Dín i Ilahí was allowed to eat with butchers, fishermen or fowlers on penalty of the loss of a hand.

999.

991.

Akbar tried to win Mán Singh to his opinions but he like Todar Mall, Bhagwán Das, Shahbáz Khán, etc., remained steadfast. During one conversation on the subject the rájá said : "If your Majesty mean by the term of membership, willingness to sacrifice one's life, I have given pretty clear proofs, and your Majesty might dispense with examining me ; but if the term has another meaning and refers to religion, surely I am a Hindú. And if I am to become a Muhammadan,

44. Goldstucker, l. c., pp. 199-200.

45. Abul Fazl (Chalmers vol. II., p. 298, and Elliott VI., p. 68-9) relates that in 1583, Jai Mál, a son of Máldeo, died on the way to Bengal. His son, Udaí Singh wished to compel his widow to perform *sati* ; she however refused. Akbar came to hear of this, threw himself upon a horse and galloped alone to the spot in which the sacrifice was to be offered. He arrived just before its commencement. The Rajputs present did not at first recognise him, and wished to disarm him, but they soon admitted their mistake and the emperor saved the unfortunate woman.

your Majesty ought to say so ; but besides Hindúism and the Islám I know of no other religion."

In 1593 an edict of complete tolerance was issued ; all such as had joined the Islám under compulsion being permitted to return to their former creed. Strict moral regulations were added. At this time, Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah joined the Dín i Ilahí. He had just returned from a pilgrimage to Mekka ; his experiences in the holy city had been unfortunate, and he had become acquainted with the cupidity and grossness of its priests : despising them he was all the more inclined towards a creed which had opposition to clericalism for a fundamental tenet. In 1595 the Mufti * of the empire, the Çadr Jahán, joined the imperialist dissenters. The following is the list of known members of the Dín i Ilahí as given by Blochmann :

1002.

1004.

1. Abul Fazl.
2. Faizí, his brother.
3. Shaikh Mubárak, their father.
4. Ja'far Beg Açaf Khán, of Qazwín, a historian and poet.
5. Qásim i Káhí, a poet.
6. 'Abduççamad, Akbar's court painter, also a poet.
7. Azíz Khán Kokah, after his return from Mecca.
8. Mullá Sháh Muhammed of Sháhábád, a historian.
9. Súfí Ahmad.
10 to 12. Çadr Jahán, the crown lawyer, and his two sons.
13. Mír Sharíf of A'mul, Akbar's apostle for Bengal.

* A Muhammadan law-officer whose duty it was to expound the law which the Qází was to execute. (Wilson.)

† Blochmann l. c. p. 200, Proc. As. S. B. p. 90.

14. Sultán Khwájah, a Çadr. (Çadr i Jahan from 1578-1585.)
15. Mírzá Jání, chief of Tattah.
16. Taqí of Shustar, a poet and commander of two hundred.
17. Shaikhzádah Gosálah of Benares.
18. Rájá Bír Bar.

All, with the exception of the Rájá Bír Bar, are Musalmáns, and the great majority are poets and scholars. Beyond the year 1598 no known information exists concerning the Dín i Ilahí: it died with Akbar and most of its members had predeceased him. Down to the middle of the 17th century however the people still talked of the religion of Akbar.

1007

We have given a fragment of the external history of the Dín i Ilahí; its essence is far more difficult to describe. The assumption that it had both esoteric and exoteric doctrines is not contradicted by known facts—at any rate there were four stages of initiation. The descriptions of Badáoní and of Du Jarric were but the echoes of popular opinion, and were, perhaps, the result of a confusion of the two sets of doctrines. Badáoní's paraphrase of "Tauhíd í Iláhí" (the second designation of the new creed) by the words "divine Monotheism" does not agree with facts.* Akbar's sun-worship, his súfic tendencies, and his receptiveness to brahmanical influence, rather indicate that he based his religion upon a pantheistic conception. The reflective poems of Faizí, and the acute expositions of the Hindú and Moslim free-thinkers, were the working forces which generated in him on the one hand the recog-

* The Count, or his editor, has made a mistake here. "Tauhíd" means unity, and "divine monotheism" is only Blochmann and Rehatsek's correct translation of Badáoni's phrase Tauhíd ilahi. Trs.

nition of all religions as equally legitimate manifestations of the same aspiration, and on the other the requisite foundation of indifference towards every form whatsoever of historic creed.

The new creed might be termed a Párśí-Súfí-Hindúism, and the Iranian sun-worship its purest expression. There is distinct testimony that physical science contributed to its formation. * Akbar never identified his deity with the sun, but the universal focus of light and warmth served as the purest symbol for his conceptions ;† he chose the sun as his emblem, because he believed all existence to be but the effluence of the godhead. Not knowing or not comprehending this inner meaning, the populace held that he worshipped the sun.

"There is," says Schopenhauer, ‡ "a boiling point on the thermometer of civilization at which all faith, all revelation, and all authority volatilize, and at which man seeks truth by his personal intuition, learns but will also be convinced. His childish leading-strings have fallen off and he desires to walk alone. Still his metaphysical cravings are as inextirpable as his physical. He grows earnest in his yearning after philosophy; and distressed humanity invokes to her aid all the thinking spirits she has ever produced.—" In the same work he says, "Religion stands to theism in the relation of genus to species." Word by word these dicta are applicable to the Dín i Ilahí of Akbar. He shook off the deadening yoke of the ulamá and summoned and proved before the judgment-seat of reason

* Blochmann, l. c. p. 201.

† Reitlinger, Freie Blicke, Sonnendienst des Naturforschers, p. 1 et sq. Berlin 1874.

‡ Schopenhauer's Vierfache Wurzel, etc. Collected works, vol. 1, pp. 122 and 128.

all the problems which agitate the world. It was therefore appropriate that Akbar should exercise humanity towards all of whatever creed. The foundation of his so-called religion was only a pantheistic and philosophic theory, and being such could be grasped only by an insignificant number of men of high moral and intellectual endowments: the mass of the adherents who observed its outward forms were as far from comprehending its nature as was the crowd to whom it never penetrated.

As is frequent in such circumstances, the populace spun a glamour around the emperor: he worked miracles; sick and indigent women with infants at their breasts, beggars, and cripples, streamed into Síkrí to snatch one glance from his eyes and to struggle for some object he had touched; to them all such were of healing virtue. Even during the Bengal campaign the peasants of Jaunpúr had entreated him to pray for rain in a season of drought.* For a long time he put aside homage thus rendered as to a supernatural being; at last he yielded to his destiny, with inward amusement, but too good-natured, says Abul Fazl, to destroy the popular illusion. The Dín i Ilahí had an importance of pre-eminent practical value; it was a political fraternity the members of which had bound themselves by oath to stand by the emperor in good and ill-fortune, in joy and in trouble. The vow was faithfully performed; Akbar was able to rely upon them when in later times his sons caused him bitter heart-ache. It is unfortunate that only scant information exists concerning the esoteric side of the doctrine of the Dín i Ilahí,

* Chalmers l. c. vol. II., p. III.—Akbarnámah ed. Bib. Ind. III. 106& 578.

for one is perforce thrown back upon conjectures based on established facts, or which at least do not contradict them. Max Müller calls Akbar the first student of comparative religion.* Reitlinger † says: "Akhbar Khan (!) the Joseph II. of India, who secured tolerance among mutually hostile Muhammadans, Bráhmans, and Christians, had an affection for pigeons, birds of peace, so great, that more than 20,000 lived about his palace." His court chronicler states that "His Majesty deigned to improving these birds in an astonishing manner by cross-breeding, a thing never before practised." Akbar was therefore the first Darwinian before Darwin! In other respects he would seem to have been a man of the future; he set before himself and partly attained aims which are still in the grey distance far away in front of the vaunted 19th century. Akbar's experimental religious science was but a means to his own end: he took from various creeds the building stones of his Dín i Iláhí. There is great attraction about the inductive method which he pursued. By its practice he in 1580 confuted the 'ulamá who had asserted that every child is born with a tendency to Muhammedanism. He segregated 20 infants whom he had obtained by payment from their parents, in a solitary spot to which no sound of human speech was allowed to penetrate, and gave them into the charge of trustworthy nurses who were enjoined not to utter a word in their presence. Pattern women indeed they must have been! Some of the children died, and the survivors, when released after three or four years were

988.

* Max Müller, l. c. p. 68.

† Freie Blicke, p. 91.

all dumb. * The accounts of Akbar's apotheosis must be received with circumspection. The poets of his time give him almost divine honours in the exaltation of their odes, but it must be remembered that the heaven-storming phantasies of poets cannot be measured by any ordinary metre. Recall Horace and his successors ! Badáoní certainly takes every opportunity of raking up the notion of Akbar's apotheosis for the purpose of renewing attacks, upon the great emperor. He however was never in intimate relation to the Dín i Ilahí, he repeats the misconceptions current among the populace, marred, and alloyed by popular modes of perception. Akbar might justly have contemplated the acts of his reign with legitimate pride, but many incidents of his life prove him to have been among the most modest of men. It was the people who made a god of the man who was the founder and head of an order at once political, philosophic, and religious. One of his creations will assure to him for all time a pre-eminent place among the benefactors of humanity,—generous and universal tolerance in matters of religious belief. If in very deed he had contemplated the deification of himself (" Verabsolutirung seines Ich "), a design certainly foreign to his character, these words of Voltaire would serve as his vindication : " C'est le privilège du vrai génie et surtout du génie qui ouvre une carriére, de faire impunément de grandes fautes."

END OF VOLUME I.

* Rehatsek, pp. 44-5. Also Gibbon, vol. III., on Julian and his efforts at reform.

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